THE
NATIVE TRIBES
OF
SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

Major C. H. L. Hahn, native commissioner for Ovamboland, South-West Africa, from 1920 until 1947, has died at Grootfontein at the age of 61. Described by Lord Harlech in 1944 as "one of the ablest native administrators in the whole of Africa," he was an acknowledged authority on South-West African tribes and a fluent linguist. He was a member of the Union delegation to Uno in 1946 and 1947.

From "South Africa" - issue of Jan. 1, 1949.

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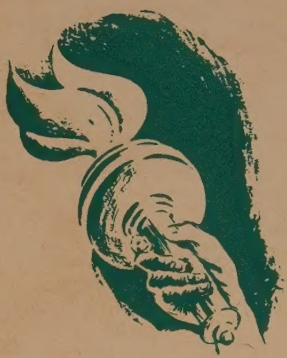

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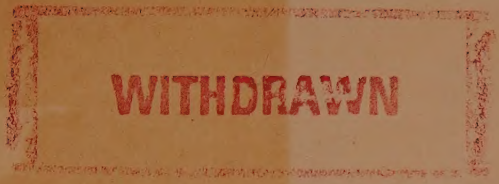

THE

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OF

SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

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FOREWORD.

It would be impossible in the small compass of a book of this size to deal exhaustively with the history, customs, beliefs and manners of the various tribes to which belong the natives who are scattered over South West Africa, and indeed if it were attempted to treat in one volume such a wide subject the work would be so great that it would ill serve the purpose intended, which is to lay before the League of Nations a short sketch of each of the principal tribes, in order that without a great amount of study it can be seen by members of that body the state of development of the natives, their mode of living and the ways in which they resemble or differ from one another.

The five main divisions into which the natives of the Territory fall have been treated: "The Ovambo," by Mr. Hahn, who is the representative of the Administration in Ovamboland, "The Bushman," by Dr. Fourie, the Medical Officer for South West Africa, and "The Herero," "The Nama," and "The Berg Damara," by Dr. H. Vedder.

The authors are all authorities on the tribes they have written about, and I should like to record here the Administration's great appreciation of their having consented to place their knowledge at its disposal.

A bibliography has been appended to each section, so that anyone desiring to pursue the study of any of the tribes further may be able readily to acquaint himself with the literature on the subject.

H. P. SMIT,
Secretary for South West Africa.

Windhoek,
4th June, 1928.

THE OVAMBO.

BY

C. H. L. HAHN, M.B.E.,
OFFICER IN CHARGE OF NATIVE AFFAIRS, OVAMBOLAND.

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Landscape of inhabited country, Ondonga area. Cornfields on extreme right (under Palm).

THE OVAMBO.

General.

The term *Ovambo* is applied collectively to the eight kindred tribes which inhabit Ovamboland, viz.: the Ondonga, Ukuanyama, Ukuambi, Ongandjera, Ukualuthi, Ombalantu, Onkolonkathi and Eunda.

Ovamboland is a flat, sandy country intersected by a network of broad, shallow watercourses known as *oshanas*. In the north it is covered by thick belts of sub-tropical vegetation while in the south large open grass plains, fringed with bush, are met with. It is bounded on the north by Angola, on the south by the Etosha Pan Game Reserve, on the east by the thickly-wooded Oshimpoloveld, and on the west by the Kaokoveld. The average annual rainfall is about 17 inches. During good rainy seasons the *oshanas* become flooded from the north, submerging at times as much as three-fifths of the country. In the dry season, on the other hand, the large grass-covered stretches formed by them offer good grazing for stock. In them also are dug the waterholes and storage reservoirs for rain water. On the raised ground between the *oshanas* the inhabitants make their fields and build their kraals.

Origin.

The Ovambo are a branch of the great Bantu family. About their history up to the time of their settlement in Ovamboland but little knowledge has survived. According to some legends they migrated southwards from the upper reaches of the Zambesi at the same time as the Herero. On reaching the present Ovamboland the Herero are stated to have continued in a westerly direction towards and through the Kaokoveld southwards in search of suitable pastures for their large herds of cattle, while the Ovambo, being an agricultural people, decided to remain, attracted no doubt by the rich and fertile nature of the soil.

According to the existing tradition as to their origin, they, in common with the Herero, are descended from *Nangombe Ya Mangundu*. *Nangombe*, it is said, came from the East

together with his brother *Kathu*. At the great *omomboromboga* tree in the Ondonga area the two brothers separated, *Kathu* leading the Herero onwards in search of pastures for their herds while *Nangombe* with his followers settled on the fertile plains of the present Ovambo territory. *Nangombe* and *Kathu* are believed to have been the sons of *Mangundu*, but it is not known whether the latter was their father or mother. It seems remarkable that the Ovambo claims such close relationship to the Herero who, on the other hand, claim descent from *Mukuru* and know little of the Ovambo tradition concerning their origin.

Population.

The population of Ovamboland is estimated at roughly 150,000. According to a recent census the population of the various tribes is as follows: Ondonga, 65,000; Ukuanyama, 55,000; Ukuambi, 8,000; Ongandjera, 6,600; Onkolonkathi, 1,200; Ukualuthi, 6,100; Ombalantu, 5,100; and Eunda, 600.

Magico-Religious Beliefs and Superstitions.

The whole life of the Ovambo is wrapped in a world of magico-religious influences. Not only are there numerous spirits constantly at work for good or evil but also various prohibitions to be observed and endless superstitions to disturb the equanimity of the people. The customary rites directed towards these influences are in many instances, especially amongst the Ukuanyama, still rigidly practised at the present time. All the tribes believe in a Supreme spirit, known as *Kalunga*, who, though having the form of a man, moves invisibly among them. He also was the God of *Nangombe*. Hence when questioned about the origin of *Kalunga* the invariable reply is "*Kalunga Ka Nangombe*" "the god of *Nangombe*." He is a being by himself and his spirit is not immanent in their Chiefs. To *Kalunga* are attributed all the good and evil which may befal them. When the country is visited by famine or pestilence it is the hand of *Kalunga*; when the people have a good season and reap a plentiful harvest, it is a sign that *Kalunga* has not forgotten them. It is difficult to obtain much information about *Kalunga*. The replies to questions are usually vague and evasive. The belief in him, however, is stronger than in any other being or spirit.

Various prohibitions (*oshithila*, plural *ithila*) are observed. For example: it is *oshithila* for any subject to enter the Chief's kraal without first having removed his sandals. Sandals are only worn in the Chief's kraal in case of mourning. Any person entering the kraal without removing his sandals will bring death to one of the Royal inmates and

throw the kraal into mourning. The tribal fire in the Chief's kraal must not be allowed to burn out, because on it depends the life and welfare of the tribe. If it dies out the Chief and his tribe will disappear. If a Chief's mother or sister gives birth to twins it is *oshithila* if the children are allowed to live. It is something very unclean and the whole tribe is shy and ashamed of the event. The twins have to be killed and the mother must go through a special cleansing ceremony.

On the edge of each tribal area there is a portion of ground known as *oshimbo* (holy ground). The ground is sacred and any person desecrating it, for example by cutting trees, collecting fire-wood or disturbing the soil in any way will become blind and paralysed in the legs. On this ground the circumcision rites were carried out in the olden days.

There are numerous other prohibitions and similar practices, especially in connection with tribal ceremonies and feasts.

There is the feast which takes place just prior to the harvesting of crops. This feast is known as *oshipe* and is one which is held yearly by every heathen family in Ovamboland. When the corn is ripe the first wife of the kraal gathers a few of the ripest ears daily until she has a basket full. This takes about four or five days. The corn is then stamped and made into the usual porridge. When the meal is ready the head of the kraal collects all his wives and children, including married sons and daughters. They gather round the dish which also includes berries and other veld-kos. The head hands out a small portion to each of the members present with the words "eat of the rich harvest which is waiting to be reaped." The ceremony is very simple and is over in a few minutes. Should a married son or daughter be present they return to their own kraals to celebrate their own *oshipe* immediately afterwards. In former days this custom was confined to those heads of kraals who had been circumcised. It has, however, taken root and is practised throughout Ovamboland to-day. It is not observed in the kraals of Chiefs unless the Chief himself is an *omkuluntu* (circumcised person). The present Chiefs of Ongandjera and Ukualuthi, although circumcised, cannot celebrate *oshipe* because neither of them has any circumcised subjects in their tribes to build the earthern mounds or supports (*omasiga*) on which the pot rests for cooking the food for this feast. It is *oshithila* if this ceremony is not carried out before the new crop is reaped and eaten because it shows greed and the tribe will suffer famine.

Another all-important ceremony which is still extensively practised, but which varies somewhat in detail among the different tribes, is the *omathila*. Among the Ukualuthi it is intended to represent the bringing of good luck by giant birds flying over the country. The *omathila* is really an indication

of the closing of the old season and the beginning of the new. In the area mentioned there are four or five old men, known as *ekanjo* or men who call to the clouds for rain, who are appointed by the Chief to keep the custom alive. Each year he summons them to his kraal and instructs them to make the necessary preparations. After a few days they march in an easterly direction in the early morning to greet the rising sun, each carrying an instrument made in the shape of a whip with a flat piece of wood, some six inches long by two broad, attached to the end of the lash. As they pass among the kraals they whirl the instrument above their heads, thus creating a sharp whirring sound to represent the noise made by the wings of the huge flying birds. No one is allowed to address them or even to set eyes upon them as this will bring bad luck to such persons and their crops. The ceremony is kept up for four days. Any small stock encountered during its progress is driven off by, and, according to tribal custom, becomes the property of the *ekanjo*. On the final day the stock is taken to the *oshimbo*, slaughtered there and sacrificed to the *omathila* or spirit of the birds. In the event of sheep or goats not becoming available for this sacrifice, known as *oshikono*, the Chief provides a prime ox so that the birds may not tire in their long flights over the country.

The *omathila* is terminated by a short feast, called *egomboto*, at the Chief's kraal, to which old and young are invited. Beer and food are provided in plenty. The Chief on the same day directs all his cattle to be brought in from the various outposts. The appearance of his cattle in the tribal area is a sign that the new season has now commenced and that the tribe should start to prepare its fields for the new crop. Later, after rains have fallen and the crops are firmly established, the Chief again sends the *ekanjo* into the tribe. Each carries a long stick to the end of which is attached a bunch of ostrich feathers. They pass through the tribe, singing and moving the sticks up and down whenever they meet tribesmen engaged in cultivating their fields. Their appearance causes great rejoicing among the workers who, calling out "rain, rain," apply their hoes with renewed vigour to the soil and conduct themselves as if rain had already fallen.

Any person who disregards any prohibition will be visited sooner or later by sickness or other calamity brought about by evil spirits and other influences. Such a person can be cured only by a witch doctor or *onganga*. If one *onganga* fails, another and yet another, sometimes to the number of four or more, are consulted in turn. If all of them should fail to bring about a cure with their magic they simply shrug their shoulders and say that the victim has wronged so badly that *Kalunga* will decide what to do. The latter it is who wills the evil influences of the spirits, and who alone is able to prevent them from working harm to others.

Belief in the spirits of both the dead and the living likewise plays an important part in tribal life. All the dead leave behind them a spirit known as *omthithi* (plural *athithi*). This *omthithi* generally resides in a relative or very close friend of the deceased. If a person should become ill or mentally depressed and suspect an *omthithi* he sends for an *onganga* who, by a process of " smelling out " discovers the medium in whom the *omthithi* resides. The patient is ordered by the *onganga* to obtain from the medium an *ekaka yomboga*—a dry pancake made from different kinds of veldkos. When this is ready the medium spits on it and sends it to the sick man who crushes it, mixes it with corn meal and fat and, after rubbing his face and upper portions of his body with the mixture, devours the rest with a great fuss and gusto. This is supposed to rid him, as also the medium, of the evil spirit. It often happens, however, that the spirit is of such a nature that it cannot readily be expelled, in which case the *onganga* orders the relatives of the sick man to make a sacrifice in food. The invalid is propped up in a sitting position and meat, etc., are placed all round him. His uncle then approaches, whilst the other relatives squat round. None partake of the food but the various dishes are collected by the uncle and the contents scattered in handfuls in all directions with the exclamation: " You spirits of the north, south, east and west, receive and eat your fill." The complications from which the sick man is suffering will soon disappear and he will recover. The *onganga* is paid by the sick man or his family but as these spirits are not considered to be of the worst kind, his award is not great.

A spirit, feared more than the *omthithi*, is one which originates in living beings. It is known as the *ouanga* and people who possess it are known as *alothi* (singular *omlothi*). Any severe illnesses are investigated by the witch doctor who, with the aid of his usual powers of perception, traces them to an *omlothi*. He at the same time very carefully examines the sick person to determine the nature of his complaint. When he has discovered the seat of the ailment he makes small incisions with a knife into the skin around it and sucks the wounds vigorously. Before commencing this operation the *onganga* generally fills his mouth with pieces of bone, stones, metal and even dead lizards. These are spat out one by one during the sucking process, sure evidence to the patient that they have been extracted from his body. If this treatment does not give relief, a bunch of green leaves is made into a brush, in the centre of which a variety of insects, lizards, feathers, pieces of horn, etc., are concealed by the *onganga*. After dipping the brush into water he proceeds to brush down the whole body, particularly the affected parts and with each movement causes an insect or lizard or some other object to fall out. These objects are supposed to have been brushed out

of the body of the patient. When all such measures fail to give relief the patient is simply left to the tender mercies of *Kalunga* who prevails over all the spirits—good or bad. The unfortunate *omlothi* is so much feared and dreaded that, after his guilt has been proved to the Chief, he is at once killed. Prior to doing this, however, the condemned man is subjected to torture and made to disclose the whereabouts and extent of his stock and other property. The usual form of torture is to bind the hands behind the back, pass a long pole between the arms and by means of the latter to twist them gradually tighter and tighter until they are wrenched out of their sockets. After all the desired information has been extracted from the victim in this manner, his property is taken by the Chief. The witch doctor, however, also receives a fair share of it in payment for his services. The *omlothi* is then handed over to the Chief's executioners, generally a band of half a dozen Bushmen or other natives from foreign tribes, to whom it is left to put an end to his life near or within the Chief's kraal. This is done purposely to remind the tribe that the Chief is supreme.

In former days the Ovambos suffered cruelly at the hands of the many witch doctors who played a very important rôle in their daily lives. Even at the present time *ongangas* are frequently met with and are easily recognised by the way in which they dress themselves. Witchcraft is practised by both men and women and those who practise it are much feared and have a high standing on account of being considered *yasimana* (superior intellects). They are privileged to move in all circles.

Chiefs invariably have their own *ongangas* and these, as a rule, are doctors from distant tribes. Rain-makers (*alokithi*) are in particularly great demand when the season promises to be bad. The rewards they exact from tribal rulers for their services make their profession a most profitable one. They set about their work in a businesslike manner, generally when the weather looks most promising. A fire is lit and a bundle of green mopani leaves (*musati*) placed on it. As the smoke rises it is generally sprinkled with water, mixed with the fat of a freshly slaughtered ox provided by the Chief, and soon indicates to the doctor whether rain will be forthcoming or not. If the doctor meets with success after his first few attempts he is given, in addition to his ordinary fee, an extra bonus in the shape of cattle from the Chief's herds and, on the latter's instructions, of endless contributions of corn from members of the tribe. The latter in a big tribe reaches very considerable proportions which, prior to his departure, the *onganga* exchanges for stock and so forth to enable him to convey it to his often distant home. He frequently returns to his own tribe with a special escort and a much enhanced reputation.

The usual witch doctors, who " smell out " and cure the origin of bad influences and spirits are less reputable beings, although they are the more dreaded of the two. In Ovamboland the most favoured mode of " smelling out " (*eanekelo*) the possessors of evil spirits, wrong-doers or other culprits is with the aid of an ordinary Ovambo knife. This instrument is placed in the fire until it is red hot and then, with the edge downwards, drawn across the palm of his hand. While doing this the *onganga* utters the names of several suspects, and as long as the knife runs smoothly after a name has been mentioned and does not stick to or blister his hand, the person concerned is innocent. When, however, the progress of the knife across the palm is interrupted causing his hand to be burnt he jumps up with much ado and pointing the knife at the last-mentioned man, declares him guilty. His finding is accepted as final by the whole tribe and only the intervention of the chief will save the victim from an almost inevitable and cruel death.

The might of the witch doctor has, to a very great extent been broken in Ovamboland and those who are still at large do little harm, as their practice is confined mainly to the use of herbs and medicines of their own concoction. The hideous cruelties and practices of years gone by are now happily a thing of the past.

Many of the occurrences encountered during their daily lives are considered by the Ovambo as omens (*oshipue*), sometimes good and sometimes bad. The belief in all kinds of omens is still very widespread, especially among the Ukuanyama. For example—the cooing of a turtle dove, heard close to a headman's kraal at midnight, is considered a bad omen as the headman or a near relative will soon be " cooed " over by mourners.

If a comet appears it is a sign that a Chief of one or other of the Ovambo tribes will soon die, or that the whole country will be visited by a plague.

If a beast, ox or cow, digs its horns into the ground whilst it is in the cattle enclosure within the kraal of a headman, it is considered a very bad omen and a sign that the grave will soon be dug in the same enclosure for the owner of the kraal.

If a traveller meets a grey striped mouse (*ontunankui*) during the day time it is concluded that the mouse has lost its burrow and predicts that the traveller will soon be looking for a kraal, *i.e.*, he will be deprived of his present one.

A frog seen during the dry season indicates that the person who saw it or a close relative will soon be placed under the earth as the frog has come from the ground to call him there.

It is a good omen if a puffadder is found in a kraal amongst the milk calabashes. The owner will receive plenty of milk and his cattle will grow strong and fat like the adder.

A python found stretched across a path is a very good omen and is regarded as a hint to the observer that he must lengthen the *engungu* or pole from which the milk calabashes are suspended during the churning process in order that it may hold many more calabashes to cope with the increasing milk and cattle.

Tribal Organisation and Government.

Each tribe speaks a dialect of its own, has its own organisation and, in some instances, customs which are not common to the other tribes.

The Chieftainship.

The Ondonga, Ukuambi, Ongandjera and Ukualuthi are ruled by tribal chiefs. Among the remaining tribes the chieftainship has disappeared and tribal affairs are administered by councils of headmen under the supervision of the Administration.

Members of the royal families of Ovamboland are known as *akwanekamba* and only those who by birth belong to this family have a claim to chieftainship. These are the relations on the mother's side. When a Chief dies his younger brother succeeds him. In the event of his having no brother then his eldest sister's eldest son follows him. A Chief's own sons have no claim, not being regarded as members of the royal family. They grow up as commoners with the ordinary rank and file but by reason of their being Chief's children (*anayokombanda*) they have a certain standing and invariably become big headmen.

When Chiefs marry their wives are chosen by the tribe from among the members of the ordinary tribal families. The husbands of royal women are selected in a similar manner and generally from among the rich headmen. In the case of the latter the children are *akwanekamba* because according to Ovambo custom descent is matrilineal.

By his subjects the Chief is regarded as the father of the tribe and is referred to and addressed as *Tate* meaning *father* or *Muenewita*, meaning *father of land* and *Chief of war*. His powers are autocratic in the truest sense. His is the last word in all matters pertaining to his tribe and custom forbids any subject to question his decisions or defy his actions. In former days Ovambo Chiefs appear to have taken the fullest advantage of their powers and to have ruled their subjects in a most tyrannical manner. The history and deeds of some of the Chiefs would stand comparison with those of the most cruel of native rulers in South African history. The abuse of the powers of despotism frequently led to the assassination of Chiefs by their subjects. The following are a few instances of despotic rule among the Ovambo in the past: Chief Kam-

Ovamboland in the rainy season. Two scenes showing how it becomes inundated.

Native fish traps placed across the shallow watercourses.

An Ukuanyama Princess in full dress showing the much valued "Omba" shells and ivory charms.

Native Kraal, Ombalantu Area, Ovamboland.

An Ukuanyama headman at entrance of his sleeping hut

Interior of a headman's kraal. A section of his personal quarters.

paku of the Ombalantu made his subjects carry over him whenever he went out, a roof (*ondunda*), ordinarily used in native kraals for shelter against rain. It took twelve men to carry this "umbrella" and he always had relays accompanying him for this purpose. On one occasion, in passing some fields, he saw a group of native women hoeing their lands. He took exception to the happy manner in which they set about their work and at once gave orders that the hoes were to be discarded and that the hands only were to be used in preparing the fields. In addition to this he chose ground where the soil was very hard and covered with thorns. Any slackers as well as those whose fingers and nails were not found bleeding, were brutally murdered. His subjects led by his nephew and heir, Intiayela, seeing that this mode of cultivation was bringing famine, thereupon decided to assassinate him. This object was achieved by them during the Chief's next outing when, on a given signal, the *ondunda* was allowed to drop on him and quickly set alight.

Another tyrant was Shikongo of Ukualuthi. Before he succeeded to the chieftainship he lived among a neighbouring tribe and there desired a certain girl to become his wife. She, however, declined to do so and managed to hide herself. Later, when he was appointed Chief in his own country, he enticed her to come to his kraal. Whilst he was interviewing her a hole was being dug in his fields. When it was ready he told the girl that he had prepared a "kraal" for her and conducted her to it himself. On arrival she was grabbed by the attendants and thrown into the hole. Pots full of boiling water were then thrown over her until she succumbed, when the hole was closed up. On several occasions natives from neighbouring tribal areas found in Shikongo's country were put to death in a most revolting manner on his instructions. His favourite method of punishing wrong-doers was to cause the hands and feet, lips, nose, tongue and ears to be cut off.

Chief Mandume who ruled in Ukuanyama up to early in 1917 was likewise a cruel despot. Prisoners must die was his slogan. They were often made to roast meat on their hands held over burning coals. Others were scalped and thereafter given their own scalps to cure (brei). His uncles Nanjungu and Kanimi were also most cruel in their methods. They found great amusement in having a number of goats skinned alive and then setting dogs on them. Many Ukuanyama natives even to-day shudder at the deeds of Kanimi. On one occasion he noticed a young woman, who was in an advanced stage of pregnancy, pass his kraal. He had her arrested, tied down and, whilst she was still alive, opened up with an Ovambo knife, simply to satisfy his curiosity as to the position and stage of development of the foetus.

Ancient custom forbids the Chief of one tribe to visit that of another as such visits will bring bad luck and certain

death to one or the other of the monarchs concerned. So strong is this belief that even to-day the most civilised of the Ovambo Chiefs, a christian and one who has been under mission influence since his earliest boyhood, cannot be induced to go within the vicinity of the borders of adjoining tribes.

Always surrounded by an armed body guard, the Chief moves about his territory visiting different places, headmen and relatives, etc., for beerdrinks and feasts. Hunting is also one of his favourite pastimes. Big parties are organised to hunt with him, often for lengthy periods, over the distant uninhabited portions of his country. Kraals and huts are erected in the bush and the usual domestic routine is carried on by the accompanying womenfolk.

The Chief's Kraal and Household.—Kraals vary greatly in size, ranging in diameter from 15 yards in the case of the rank and file to 80 or more yards in the case of wealthy headmen and of Chiefs. The kraal of the Chief is generally situated towards the centre of the tribal area and is always larger and more elaborate than those of his subjects. Each kraal is more or less circular in outline and laid out on a definite plan by means of wooden palisades varying in thickness from 3 to 10 inches and in height from 6 to 10 feet. In the Chief's kraal separate living and sleeping accommodation is provided for the Chief, his wives, bodyguard, male and female servants, certain relatives, etc. The cattle kraals and storage chambers for grain are also situated within the kraal. The various sections of the kraal are arranged in rings within the outside encircling palisades and are separated from each other by an intricate maze of passages. Each section thus forms a unit of its own with one or more entrances. Small shelters, consisting of neatly thatched circular, umbrella-shaped roofs supported on wooden props, are provided for the various inmates as a protection against sun and rain. They are from 4 to 5 feet in height and 8 to 12 feet in diameter. The sleeping apartments are formed by huts of similar design, but with plastered walls. They have a single small opening as an entrance but no windows.

The apartments of the Chief are situated on the side of the kraal opposite to and away from those of his wives. His living quarters (*mutshakeho*) consist of several huts and enclosures. The hut in which he sleeps is known as *ondunda yokulala mo yomukuanilua* and is in an enclosure by itself. With the exception of the personal body servant no person is allowed to enter the Chief's apartment. The body servant, trained to the strictest secrecy from early boyhood, takes orders from the Chief alone and never leaves his master's apartments. The bodyguard is quartered in close proximity to the Chief.

Each wife has her own establishment containing living and sleeping quarters, kitchens, granary, etc. That of the

principal wife is on a larger scale than those of the other wives.

Near the centre of the kraal is a large enclosure, from 70 to 80 feet in diameter, in which visitors and subjects who have been summoned by the Chief are required to wait until their arrival has been announced to the latter. From this enclosure passages lead to the various sections of the kraal.

The household of a Chief consists of his wives with their children, his guardian, bodyguard, male and female servants and certain relatives.

The guardian (*omumatali guiganthi*) is responsible for the general control and management of the whole establishment. Among his principal duties are included the reception and introduction of visitors, the daily issue of corn for food and beer, the supervision of the herds and milking arrangements, preparation and cultivation of the fields, etc.

The first or great wife supervises the activities of the lesser wives and female staff, among whose duties fall the preparation of food and, most important of all, the brewing of beer. In this she is assisted by the *muene wegumbo* or principal female servant (the old woman of the kraal), who is the recognised authority on matters pertaining to housekeeping. The food of the Chief is prepared in his own kitchen, close to his living quarters, by a man-servant who in former days was generally a prisoner of war trained specially for the purpose. The Chief's wives are not permitted to handle his food. The beer is prepared by the women but is not placed before him until it has been sampled by the guardian and the principal female servant.

Among the most important members of a Chief's household are his younger brothers, sisters, nephews and nieces, who are removed from their mothers as soon as they are weaned. These children are brought up in the Chief's kraal under the supervision of guardians, a man being appointed for the boys and a woman for the girls. They spend the greater portion of their lives in the kraal, not being permitted to visit their mothers or grandmothers or other people without the consent of the Chief. It is very seldom, however, that they are allowed to be absent from the Chief's kraal for a night. Special servants and nursemaids are selected to look after them and to keep them constantly in sight. The guardians are responsible for all their requirements in food and clothing, etc., provide playmates and accompany them on visits sanctioned by the Chief. When the children reach a marriageable age partners are chosen for them by the tribe, subject to the approval of the Chief. Boys are provided with a kraal in an area indicated by the latter. In the event of a husband, chosen for one of the girls, not being wealthy steps are taken to enrich him. In bygone days this was effected by depriving some rich headman of his possessions and, on occasion, of

his life. After marriage the relatives of Chiefs are expected to keep in very close touch with the Chief and are permitted to make intimate friends of only such members of the tribe as are approved of by him.

The Building and Inauguration of a New Kraal.—On account of the climatic conditions and the inroads made by white ants the timber forming the palisades, huts, etc., decays very rapidly. It becomes necessary, therefore, to erect new kraals at intervals of three or four years. In the event of a new kraal being desired by the Chief he informs his principal councillors who arrange for the cutting of the necessary timber and other material. In former days, owing to the large size of the kraals, an enormous amount of work was expended in cutting and trimming the many thousands of poles and other timber required for the purpose. At the present time kraals are of much smaller dimensions in the majority of the tribal areas, mainly on account of the extent to which the country has been denuded of its timber by the increasing population. The site selected for the new kraal is generally close to the old kraal. After all the material has been collected and placed in readiness at the selected site the Chief summons his paternal uncle, known as *ochegona*, to start the building operations. The *ochegona* takes a leading part both in the erection of the kraal and in the accompanying ceremonies. Custom demands that when he arrives at the Chief's kraal he must find the main entrance closed and a temporary entrance made on the side facing the new site. To leave an old home for good through its main entrance is *oshithila*. On arriving at the closed up main entrance the *ochegona* calls upon the Chief's servants to bring fire from the Chief's fire place. With this fire he kindles a large fire just outside the newly made temporary entrance, close to which are also placed two pots of beer and some baskets of porridge (oshifima). The *ochegona* then seats himself near the fire and calls upon the people waiting outside to come and partake of a meal. The food is served by the first servant of the great wife and is quickly devoured. The uncle now enters the kraal through the temporary gateway and proceeds to the part of the kraal, called *oshinyanga*, in which the tribal fire is kept burning, taking with him an empty wooden milk bucket (*etenga*) which he hands to the guardians of the fire, known as *atemi yomlilo*. The two guardians fill the *etenga* with cold water to which the *ochegona* adds the sediment of beer and the crushed green leaves of the *eswila* bush. This mixture is called *etalaleko* and with it he proceeds to find the Chief. The two then make their way through the temporary entrance to the site of the new kraal. The *ochegona* there selects the exact spot which will be occupied by the Chief's cattle within the new kraal and, after having marked out its area, known as *stitema hunda*, with a stick,

sprinkles the *etalaleko* over it. The *etalaleko* will keep the new kraal cool, fatten the cattle and bring health to the Chief's country. The spot which is to be occupied by the great wife's principal female servant (*muene wegumbo*) is selected next and similarly sprinkled with the *etalaleko*.

The *ochegona* now proceeds to lay out the plan of the remainder of the kraal. Furrows are quickly drawn and deepened to hold the poles and stakes provided by the tribe, and such material as can be used from the old kraal. Everything now goes with a swing and the scores of workers engaged soon have the new palisades erected in place and by sunset the major portion of the work is completed. The Chief, his wives, servants and other inmates of his old kraal, move in at once and occupy their respective apartments. The workers and helpers camp outside to continue their labours on the following day. Beer, provided by the Chief and his headmen, flows in plenty. Cattle are slaughtered and feasting continues until late at night. The following day the uncle sets the workers in motion again and before long the work is finished, with the exception of the main entrance and the outside brushwood fence which encloses the whole kraal. The main body of workers, after a final beer drink, is allowed to return to their homes, a few selected ones being detained for the purpose of putting up the brushwood fence in a leisurely way. This is done to give the inmates time to become properly settled without completely stopping the work of construction. About three weeks later instructions are issued by the Chief to *ochegona* to make arrangements for the inauguration of the new kraal. The latter arrives shortly after accompanied by his wife and women servants carrying several pots of beer and a basket containing corn meal. Six men, each carrying a stout and selected pole to build the main entrance, known as *helo*, and a branch of thorn bush, accompany him also. On reaching the kraal *ochegona* is taken in to see the Chief. After the usual greetings he presents the beer to the Chief, who at once partakes of it with the donor. The Chief then gives *ochegona* a pot of his own beer and a small basket containing corn husks. *Ochegona* then leaves the kraal, places the beer near the spot where the main entrance is to be erected and sprinkles the husks on the actual site. As soon as this has been done the great wife of the kraal comes running out carrying in one hand a basket of corn and in the other a hoe. She goes a little way off and starts hoeing the soil and planting the corn with great fuss and energy. In the meantime holes are quickly dug for the six poles brought by *ochegona*. When these are ready the poles are held in position so that the great wife can pass between them. When the latter has finished the planting she comes running back calling "*Omvula, omvula, omvula,*" meaning "rain, rain, rain," and as she

passes through the new gateway the poles are simultaneously brought down forcibly into the holes and are quickly made secure. *Ochegona* and his assistants then partake of beer provided by the Chief, calling repeatedly to the heavens to send *elolo, omvula* and *elia* (good health, rain and corn). For this ceremony, although an important one, the tribe is not specially invited. After the opening of the new entrance the Chief and his household settle down to a normal life.

Death and Burial of Chief; Accession of New Ruler.— During the illness of a Chief the councillors keep in very close touch with him and answer all enquiries regarding his condition. In cases where the rightful heir is for any reason considered unsuitable for the chieftainship a great deal of scheming and political intrigue is carried on by them in the utmost secrecy. The news of the death of the Chief may even be withheld from the tribe until plans for securing the succession to a more favoured younger brother or nephew and for disposing of the rightful heir either by banishment or death, have been completed.

After the death of a Chief the person who is to succeed him is immediately summoned by the elders of the tribe and taken into the kraal of the departed ruler outside which a gathering of the whole tribe takes place. In the state room of the late ruler the new Chief is informed by the elders that he is the rightful heir according to tradition and custom and that the tribe will accept him. The senior member of these elders then addresses him thus: "Our Chief has gone. All the good and great deeds achieved by him were gained through the good advice and guidance of his councillors and elders. You will follow him and keep his tribe alive." This is the official intimation to the heir that he has been accepted as Chief.

The Chief and the old councillors now leave the kraal to appear before the assembled tribe outside. He takes his seat on the customary log of wood used by the Ovambo for sitting on. The senior councillor now calls upon the *omuilikili* or person who has been specially selected as spokesman on account of his big voice and fluency of speech. The *omuilikili* takes up his stand behind the Chief close to the elders who prompt him to address the gathering as follows: "Our Chief is dead, our new Chief has been sent." He repeats this two or three times and asks the tribe to wish the Chief a long and plentiful reign. A number of braves rush up immediately and with their kirries strike the ground at the Chief's feet with all their power, exclaiming: "*Kala unomuenyo*," meaning, "Our Chief, you have come to remain with a long life."

The elders, who had previously made arrangements for a supply of food, now invite all present to partake of the meat of the late Chief's oxen. It is *oshithila* (taboo) to drink

beer on this occasion because the tribe is still in mourning for their departed Chief and the new ruler has not yet assumed chieftainship in his own kraal.

After having been fed all the people return to their homes with the exception of a big force of armed men who remain at the new ruler's command to protect him against attack and to deal with any conspiracy on the part of relatives or rivals. This guard is provided for by him from his own herds. The festivities in connection with the installation of a new Chief are still observed but are never carried out on an extensive scale because they take place immediately after the burial of the late Chief while the tribe is in mourning. He remains in the kraal of his predecessor until a new kraal has been prepared for him elsewhere. This is done immediately after the period of mourning has ended. Material from the old kraal may not be used for the new one.

News of the death of a Chief, after having been announced by the elders, immediately spreads throughout the whole tribe. The burial generally takes place on the day following the death and is attended by many of the tribesmen. If the Chief was a circumcised person (*omkuluntu*), as was generally the case in former days, he was buried in the following manner: A black ox was slaughtered and the body of the Chief was wrapped up in the still blood-stained skin and carried to the cattle kraal where it was placed on the surface in a sitting position. It was not buried in the ground because it would have been an insult to a ruler to place him under the earth of a country of which he was the Chief and father. After the body had been propped up in a sitting posture, heavy wooden stakes, varying in length from 5 to 10 feet, were planted in a circle round it in such manner as to incline towards and meet in the centre at the top. This structure constituted the grave (*ompampa*). The burial ceremony occupied only a very little time. After the new Chief has moved into his own kraal that of the late Chief is allotted to an aged nobleman who must demolish the whole structure in order to leave the *ompampa* open to view, and with the stakes and poles from the old kraal erect his own on another site, but within the surrounding fields.

Two keepers of the grave, known as *gomiyana ompampa*, were then appointed to watch over the tomb. Any flies, insects, maggots, etc., which left the *ompampa* had to be driven back to it by the *gomiyana ompampa* because it would have been *oshithila* and brought bad luck to the country if they had been permitted to escape.

An important duty was the feeding of the spirit of the departed Chief (*akwampungu*). If the *akwampungu* had been made to feel the want of food he would have visited the new Chief and caused him to live in a constant state of fear and would not have left him until he had slaughtered and pro-

vided plenty of meat through his *onganga* (witch doctor). After the establishment of the kraal of the new Chief and the demolition of the old kraal, the duty of feeding the spirit devolved upon the occupant of the one which had been erected in the adjoining fields. The dead ruler therefore continued to receive food from his own fields. The food was taken to the *ompampa* in wooden dishes and scattered over it in small portions by the old nobleman and his assistants in a kneeling position with the words "*Tate, Tate, otwalile onyama, twe kwetele.*" ("Father, Father, we have been eating meat and brought some for you.") When the stakes of the *ompampa* decayed or fell down the ruling Chief was immediately informed. He had to slaughter an ox, have the fallen timbers smeared with its blood so as to give them new life, and have them replanted.

The only difference in the burial of an uncircumcised Chief was that he was buried in a sitting posture in a grave in the ground but the grave was not enclosed with wooden stakes, because he did not have the status of an *omkuluntu*.

The period of mourning for a departed Chief lasts from four to six days. The new Chief, after taking up his residence temporarily in the kraal of his predecessor summons the members of the tribe, particularly councillors and headmen, to attend the *osa* or mourning for the dead. The kraal of the departed Chief becomes packed daily with throngs of mourners who have come to pay their last respects. From early dawn until after sunrise and again from late in the afternoon until after darkness has set in, the older tribesmen parade slowly and solemnly in stooping attitudes, shouldering their walking sticks, round the *ompampa* (grave). They utter in mournful tones "Omoeli, omoeli?" ("is he there, is he there?") to which the women and young people kneeling near the grave and swaying their bodies backwards and forwards reply in long drawn out wailings "Kemo, kemo!" ("no, he is not there, no, he is not there!"). No person who has witnessed the *osa* can ever forget the wailing and mournful utterings of the mourners.

The mourners remain at the kraal from 6 to 10 days during which period they provide their own food. Beer, however, is not allowed as a sad heart does not permit the partaking of it. The *osa* is the only occasion on which a Chief's kraal is overrun by commoners of all classes. The members of the ruling family, as a mark of homage to the Chief who was the father of them all, mix much more freely on such occasions with the ordinary rank and file.

The period of mourning over, the councillors, etc., on instructions from the Chief, summon all their followers to gather outside the kraal where the *omuilikili* addresses them in the following manner: "Our old Chief has departed, we have now a new ruler, you all know his name." He also in-

Showing different passage ways in big Ukuanyama kraal.

The "Olupale." A big reception enclosure as found in all head kraals of Ovamboland.

A Chieftainess, Ukuanyama. (Evale).

An Ongandjera headman and his young wife.

forms them that, with the exception of murder, all postponed or pending cases and disputes are closed and will not be considered by the new Chief, and that robberies, fights, quarrels and differences between them must not occur again. The meeting then breaks up and the people return to their kraals. Shortly after this the chief-elect takes up residence in his new kraal and, as soon as he has done so, becomes the properly constituted supreme authority of the tribe. His first duty is to advise the neighbouring tribal authorities that his country is again open for visits and free passage. This notification is necessary as, during the mourning period, the subjects of the neighbouring tribes are not permitted to enter the country of a dead Chief, lest they should become possessed of evil spirits and carry them to their own rulers, thus bringing death to the latter also. The messenger does not proceed direct to the neighbouring Chief but delivers his message at one of the first kraals on the outskirts of the area concerned. The recipient immediately takes it to his Chief and is at once sent back to the original messenger, who has in the meantime returned to his own kraal. From there he is conducted to the kraal of the new ruler to acknowledge the receipt of the notification and to convey the first greeting of friendly relationship and understanding from his own Chief. He is very courteously received and entertained on a liberal scale. On his departure he is presented with several head of cattle from the herds of the late Chief for his own Chief. This gift is known as *uthiga*. As a further sign of brotherhood the different Chiefs, who look upon each other as brothers, receive a portion, although a very small one, of the estate.

On his return the messenger slaughters one of the beasts in the neutral zone separating one tribal area from the other, and takes to his Chief a quantity of the dung of the slaughtered animal. This the Chief rubs over his body to protect himself against any influence which his deceased " brother's " spirits may possibly exercise over him. After subsequently cleansing his body by the application of a mixture of fat and corn meal he sends out messengers to inform his tribe that the usual inter-tribal visits may again be undertaken by them and that the roads are free as before to travellers.

The Holy or Tribal Fire.
(*Omlilo guoshilongo.*)

In all the Ovambo tribal areas this fire in former days burned in the kraal of the Chief, namely in his own quarters, known as *oshinyanga*. It was regarded as the life of the Chief who in turn is the life of the tribe. If the fires were to burn out it is *oshithila* and would bring disaster to the whole country. Two old men, known as *atonateli yomlilo*, were the keepers of the *omlilo guoshilongo*. They were chosen by the tribe from among the *akuluntu* (circumcised men). Only

the wood of the *omusati omtarara* (green mopane), which burns very readily even in the green state, was used for the fire. The *omlilo guoshilongo* was never allowed to flare up but merely to smoulder. No one ever referred to this fire, nor was anyone allowed to sit round it, cook over it or warm himself. To have done so would have been *oshithila*. The whole tribe received its fire from the Chief's. The principal headmen first obtained theirs and in turn distributed it to the ordinary rank and file through the smaller headmen.

When a Chief died the fire died with him. It was, therefore, left unattended and simply burnt out and the *atonateli yomlilo*, in accordance with custom, had to leave the kraal of the deceased Chief. They were replaced by two of their own relatives by whom on the accession of the new Chief a new fire was kindled with fire sticks (*ithiga yomlilo*).

In the kraals of commoners any kind of wood was used as fuel, so also was any wood used by headmen when they obtained embers from the holy fire for distribution among the tribe.

In former days this custom of guarding and using the holy fire was one which was most rigidly observed by all the tribes, but as a consequence of the advance of civilization many of the fine and ancient traditions have unfortunately died out. Only among the Ukuanyama is this custom still observed by the headmen who struggle to keep their own tribal fire burning.

System of Tribal Government.

All the Ovambo Chiefs exercise autocratic rule over their subjects. The Chief's rule is supreme. The land, people and all other property nominally belong to him. Councillors and headmen are appointed by him over allotted areas and are responsible to him for their respective districts. Petty cases or offences are tried and settled by them. Serious crimes and disturbances with which they are unable to cope are referred to the Chief. Inter-tribal questions and affairs of State are attended to by the Chief personally. The counsel and advice of the older and trusted councillors are sought by him in all matters of serious importance and generally determine the line of policy to be followed. The Chief as a rule also adjudicates on cases of theft, murder, raids or like offences when headmen or councillors are unable to deal with them satisfactorily.

Headmen are not allowed to receive or accept any payment for the trial of cases falling within their jurisdiction. Such work is looked upon as forming part of their duties in maintaining order and control over the areas allotted to them. In the event, however, of a case being referred by them to the Chief, with whom an appeal may also be lodged, the question of costs is immediately involved. In such cases the person

against whom the Chief's verdict goes is required not only to compensate the other party but also to pay to the Chief a fee as well as the customary *efilo ljompathi,* which literally means the wiping out of his tracks to the Chief's kraal or, in other words, a reward for the conclusion of the case. These payments always took the form of large stock in former days. Now-a-days, however, cash payments are also accepted.

The most serious crimes are conspiracy and treason, the punishment for which is certain death. The Chief is generally surrounded by a few bushmen or natives from foreign tribes who act as his executioners and when once a man has been condemned to death, he is simply left to the mercies of the latter. The means employed by them for carrying out the death sentence can better be imagined than described. A favourite method in the Ondonga area was a slow process of strangulation. Executions are carried out in front or in the immediate vicinity of the Chief's kraal in order that they may serve as an object-lesson to the members of the tribe and impress upon them the powers of the Chief. For murder a fine in cattle is generally imposed. Interference with the wives of the Chief is also considered one of the most serious of crimes and the punishment is invariably death. Abortion, if practised in the tribe to which the woman belongs, is also punished with death by torture.

Inter-tribal Relations.

The present day tribes are much more friendly disposed towards each other than was the case in former days when inter-tribal wars, raids and robberies were the order of the day.

About the time of the conflicts between Hereros and Hottentots for superiority and mastership in the South, the Ovambo also had their inter-tribal disputes and differences. If the origin and history of these could be accurately related, it would make very interesting reading. The Ondonga tribe, for instance, was about that time divided under two different lines of Chiefs who were constantly at loggerheads, mainly on account of territorial jealousies. The Ukuanyama, Ombandja, Ukuambi, Ombalantu and Ongandjera were likewise perpetually engaged in warfare in settling inter-tribal disputes and fighting for superiority. In those days the use of modern arms was but little known and wars were waged with assegai, knife and axe. Arms were first introduced, it is said, by the Hottentots between 1860 and 1870 when Chief Shikongo of the Ondonga people went to Omaruru to solicit their assistance for the purpose of overthrowing his brother Shipanga who ruled independently over another section of the same tribe. Shipanga suffered a decisive defeat in the first encounter as the result of which Shikongo became supreme Chief of the Ondonga tribe. The Hottentots were liberally

rewarded with cattle and ivory for the help given by them. The treacherous Shikongo had, however, carefully planned the destruction of his allies. When the latter were well on their way to the South with their hard-earned reward, he caused them to be ambushed and massacred in a brutal manner by his warriors. With the assistance of the guns, stock, ammunition and horses taken from the Hottentots the Ondongas gradually forged ahead and became the most powerful tribe in Ovamboland, a position which they have maintained up to the present.

After the Ondongas had opened the way for the importation of firearms from Hereroland the other tribes followed their example and gradually armed themselves with modern weapons, obtained from both the North and the South. In the subsequent inter-tribal conflicts victory generally went to the side which could muster the largest number of firearms.

Inter-tribal feuds generally have their origin in disputes over territory, water-rights, interference with visiting subjects, cattle raids and so forth. Not infrequently trouble arises in connection with the extradition of subjects who had sought refuge with other tribes. The latter course is often resorted to by people who are unable to comply with the impossible laws and demands, often imposed by Chiefs on some of their subjects, and who, rather than openly disobey, seek safety in flight. When the return of such fugitives is refused by the Chief with whom they have taken refuge, as is often the case on account of the handsome presents made to him, endless strife ensues. Inter-tribal visitors are interfered with and molested. Reprisals follow and complicate the situation more and more until matters reach the breaking point, when either one of the parties concerned gives way or war follows. When a Chief has carried things too far and finds that he is unable to support his actions by force, the customary peace proposals are made in the following manner: After consultation with his councillors the Chief appoints an aged member of the tribe as peace messenger. The person selected for the purpose is of so advanced an age as to preclude him from taking part in any feud or fight. A "swartwit" or "rooiwitrug" ox, that is, one with black or red flanks and a white line along the centre of the back, is next picked out of the herds. Accompanied by a young lad, still in his early teens and a young girl of like age, the messenger proceeds with the ox to the kraal of the rival Chief for whom it is intended as a peace offering. On arriving at the kraal, the latter first inspects the ox before accepting it. The colouration of the animal represents a wood or forest (the black or red flanks) with the path of peace (the white line running down the back) passing through it. The age of the messenger is an indication of his Chief's weakness, namely, that he has no young men to fight. The young girl

Chief Muala of Ukualuthi and his daughters.

Ukualuthi types.

Ombalantu men.

A kraal and inmates, Ombalantu area.

had before the departure of the peace mission been adorned with ornaments only worn by the rich, known as *oshipako sheshimano*. Among them were included several of the much treasured shells known as *omba*. These ornaments are a personal offering to the Chief who removes them from the girl's person with his own hands. The boy is merely to assist the old man in driving the ox and is further evidence of the want of eligible fighters. The fact that the peace messenger and his assistants return empty handed is proof that the road between the two countries is clear and that the two tribes are again on friendly terms. Peace offerings of this nature are never refused as they are a complete acknowledgment of inferiority and submission, witnessed by the whole country.

Warfare.

Before entering into war Chiefs consult their councillors (*elengas*) and map out their plans of campaign. A Chief, in keeping with tribal tradition and custom, may not leave the tribal area. An experienced and tried headman is, therefore, selected to represent the Chief and lead the army. He is known as *omuiliki wita*, meaning "representative and chief of war." The army is also accompanied by the *ochambati wo shikuni*, a member of a traditional war family who is specially appointed to carry an ember from the holy or tribal fire (*omlisho guoshilongo*) at the Chief's kraal and to keep it burning all the time the tribesmen are out fighting. From it are lit all the fires in camp for cooking and other requirements. The *omuiliki wita*, being the representative of the Chief who does not take an active part in fighting, is not armed like other headmen but only carries a bow, a few arrows, one big knob kirri and two small sticks about the size of a lead pencil. The latter, known as *omsindilo*, are lit at the holy fire in camp and while burning like candles are waved over the soldiers by him to make them invisible to the enemy. On the way out he slackens the string of his bow to such an extent that an arrow cannot be shot from it. This is done in order to cause the strings of the enemy's bows to slacken and render them useless. The extra large knob kirri is carried to inspire his men with courage and confidence.

When the army reaches the vicinity of the enemy's country the carrier of the holy fire (*ochambati wo shikuni*) advances to the front and looks for a young *omusati* sapling. On finding one he splits it down the centre, without uprooting it, and presses the two portions in opposite directions until they fall level with the ground. He now beckons to the warriors to pass over the split sapling. This ceremony is called *ita tivalua*, meaning "the war is born to-day." The army then proceeds to a strategic point where, on the directions of the *omuiliki wita*, each of the headmen takes up his position at the head of his respective followers. The Chief's own selected

fighters, who are generally in attendance at his kraal, occupy the position of honour in the centre. They go forward on their own without a leader, each man being considered good and brave enough to look after himself.

When all is ready the *omuiliki wita* says a few words of encouragement to the men and then, as they advance, gives them a send-off by blowing on his war-whistle (*ochia ita*). Such a whistle is still carried by most of the wild Ovambo throughout the country. It consists of a duiker horn suspended from the neck by a thong or "riempie." In the time of war the whistle is filled with ashes obtained by burning the wing feathers of a bird called *inane ya m'koakoa*, a very nervous member of the roller family. When the whistle filled with this "medicine" is blown it will cause the enemy to become nervous and shaky.

As soon as the warriors are out of sight the *omuiliki wita* and the *ochambati wo shikuni* settle down and proceed to kindle a fire which they keep burning until their warriors return. It often happens that the fighting men are away for several days and in such cases the position of the two unarmed men so close to the enemy is very precarious and the task of keeping the holy fire of their tribe burning without allowing the smoke to disclose their position is at times very difficult. If the fire should die out or if the two should be overwhelmed by the enemy it is *oshithila* and spells inevitable disaster.

On the return of the warriors with cattle and prisoners after a successful campaign they are at once taken to the *omuiliki wita* with the words "*njai ti twetere*," meaning "our Chief, we have brought riches." The return march commences without delay. A fresh and big piece of *omusati* (mopane) wood is cut and lit from the burning fire to be taken back to the Chief. The booty and prisoners are driven on ahead with all speed, but the main army proceeds in a more leisurely manner so as to be prepared to defend themselves against attack from the rear. As soon as the edge of their own tribal area is reached, a branch of the *omusati* tree is sent to the Chief by a picked runner to indicate to him that the army is returning victorious. The Chief at once sends an escort to guide his warriors home. Cattle, prisoners and other loot are then marched forward through the tribal area amidst much rejoicing and song. The *omuiliki wita* is required to give an account to the Chief of the number of men killed, prisoners and booty taken, etc.

The first person to receive part of the spoils is the servant in the Chief's kraal who cooked the meal for the warriors before they set out on the expedition. To the food prepared by her are attributed the strength and courage which resulted in victory. The rest of the loot belongs to the Chief. A portion of it is, however, given to the *omuiliki wita* and distributed amongst his men as a reward for their services.

Prisoners become the property of those who captured them and accompany the latter to their kraals. Each of the warriors is given a great reception on his home coming. Mothers place strings of beads round the necks of their sons and rejoice more than anyone else because of the fact that they had given birth to such brave sons and warriors.

The unfortunate prisoner, before he enters the kraal of his captor, is required to walk through a small fire made with old cow dung and grass and lit outside the kraal. This is called *elyateko* and is meant to deprive the prisoner of all plans of escape. For the first few days he is liberally fed on corn porridge and milk because he brought good luck to his captor in that his release is worth so many head of cattle. Some days later he is sent under an escort to cut a stout piece of timber out of which he himself has to fashion shackles for his legs. These are fastened to his ankles and kept on until such time as his relatives come to pay for his freedom. Young boys and girls unable to do bodily work are taken by the Chief and secretly distributed among his headmen for the purpose of being trained as trusted servants for future service in his kraal. In former days their treatment appears to have been good as many of them on reaching an advanced age declined to return to their own homes when liberated.

In these inter-tribal feuds victory did not, however, always go to the aggressors and when this happened the prisoners were invariably killed. The following instance may be cited as an example of the methods employed by the victors in such cases. Some twenty years ago Negumbo, Chief of the Ukuambi, decided to send a big party to plunder the neighbouring Ongandjera tribe. His plans became known to the Ongandjera who ambushed and defeated his warriors, inflicting great losses on them, including the capture of the tribal fire and the Chief's representative. The latter was immediately put to death in a most cruel manner. His body was then opened, the heart, kidneys, liver, lungs, eyes, nose, ears, lips, sexual and other organs were removed and taken to their Chief. After the organs had been dried the Chief summoned his warriors and, causing a bull calf to be slaughtered, ordered its meat to be mixed and boiled with the remains of the Ukuambi leader. The warriors, under threats of severe punishment, were then required to eat the resulting stew, while still almost unbearably hot, the Chief meanwhile singing their praises and comparing their bravery and fighting spirit to that of the lionesses of the bush. Those of his men who fell in the fight as well as the enemy's dead were likewise praised as having fought like lions and bulls. The head of the Ukuambi leader, which was also brought to the Chief, was for a long time retained on the top of one of the palisades in the Chief's kraal to mark the day of victory.

In the Ukuanyama country during the rule of Chief Mueshipandeka a similar procedure was followed when the

Ondonga tribal representative and holy fire were captured, the organs of the fallen leader being boiled and eaten by the victors in almost the same manner.

Family Life.

General.—The homes of the Ovambo consist of a number of small huts surrounded by wooden palisades, or, in districts where timber is not available, by fences of ordinary brushwood tied up into neat bundles. The kraals of commoners are naturally much smaller and less intricate than those of Chiefs or influential headmen, but in their general layout they are more or less the same. In all kraals the father of the family is the head and is generally referred to as *Tate* (father). The inmates consist of one or more families according to the standing of the head of the kraal. Frequently one or two brothers or sisters and perhaps some poor relatives also live in it.

The Ovambo, especially the richer classes, are polygamous. Among the tribes of the Northwest, however, polygamy is not nearly so largely practised and many of the wildest among them have only one wife. A man's status is generally in proportion to the number of his wives, his fields being consequently larger and his beer more plentiful. His actual riches are, however, gauged by the size of his granary and the extent of his herds.

The daily work of a man in the average kraal is not as varied and strenuous as that of a woman. He supervises and carries out all duties in connection with his stock, sees to the milking of the cows, keeps his home in repair, cleans out waterholes, manufactures all household and agricultural implements (baskets, pots and other crockery excepted), such as pestles, mortars, handles for axes and hoes and so forth. If he happens to be a blacksmith he forges knife blades, hoes, axes, etc. He also makes the big baskets or bins for storing corn. Hunting, formerly a strenuous duty, is now, with the aid of modern arms, regarded as a pleasant pastime. Men are fond of calling and go long distances to visit relatives and friends. On an average not more than six or eight months are devoted to work every year. The rest of the year, especially among the richer classes, is spent in recreation.

The system and routine of the household of a headman or other man of wealth and standing are based more or less on the lines of that of a tribal Chief. He is surrounded by many male servants and dependents who do the work which would otherwise have devolved upon him had he been an ordinary commoner. His food is cooked separately by his own personal male servant and, like a Chief, he has his meals alone and away from his wives who are not supposed to see him eat. In poor families the life is much simpler, husband, wife and children generally feeding together, often out of the same pot.

Native women entering a kraal.

Ondonga types showing the long "hair."

An Ondonga family.

Carrying earthenware pots, ready to fetch water.

Native women on a corn stamping floor.

Butter making. Calabashes containing milk are swung to and fro.

Preparing the day's meal.

Lining up for the dance, drummers in background.

Beer for the occasion.

The women are always busy. Each wife is held responsible for the cultivation and harvesting of an allotted portion of the fields. In addition to looking after the children and assisting the husband in his work the women also thresh the corn, brew the beer, fetch water and generally attend to everything required for the daily sustenance of the family. The stamping of the corn with the heavy wooden pestles and mortars is exceptionally arduous work. So also are the threshing of the corn and the daily carrying of water in heavy earthenware pots, often from pits or waterholes several miles distant; the collection of firewood and the carrying of beer to distant tribal feasts, etc. Basketry and pottery likewise fall within the scope of woman's duties. These duties are regulated and supervised by the principal wife. In the case of a rich headman the wives follow in the same order as that of a Chief, *i.e.*, his first wife is his principal wife and all the others are subservient to her.

A father is not regarded as a relative of his children, who do not inherit his property but only that of their mother or of her brothers and sisters.

Birth.—A pregnant woman is treated with great respect by all, including the other wives of her husband. She continues at her work as long as she is able to do so. During the latter stages special food is provided by her mother and intimate friends with whom she keeps in close touch. The confinement is conducted by the mother assisted by other friends. In the case of a first born child the grand-mother, or in the absence of one, the great grand-aunt, is required to be present. In the event of complications arising the assistance of the witch doctor (*onganga*) is sought. The husband is not allowed to enter the hut while labour is in progress but he may speak to her from a distance.

When the infant is four days old the *epitho* or the presentation of the child to relatives and intimate friends takes place. The latter are invited to come to the kraal and partake of a light breakfast outside the hut in which the mother is. During the meal the child is admired and fondled by all present and finally passed to an old male friend of the family who shaves off its crop of hair. If the infant is a boy the old man hands him to his wife who takes him to the front entrance of the kraal to show him to the world. She then returns past the cattle enclosure to introduce him to the cattle, his main care in after life. He is also taken and introduced to the milk calabashes and then returned to his mother. As he is handed to the latter all present clap their hands and exclaim that it is a boy who will grow to a real man. This ends the *epitho*, much rejoicing and beer-drinking being indulged in subsequently.

In the case of a girl a similar procedure is gone through with the exception that she is introduced to the threshing

floor and the corn retainers instead of to the cattle kraal and milk calabashes. Before the visitors depart the old woman gives the child a nickname by which it is known until formal naming by the father takes place about a month later.

The birth of twins in a woman, who is a member of the ruling family is known as *epacha*. The event is regarded as something unholy and unclean and is *oshithila*. For these reasons the twins are killed immediately after birth. Further, if they are allowed to live their advancement in later life may cause very serious tribal complications in connection with succession to the chieftainship. Their death is brought about by forcing earth into their mouths. A black ox is hurriedly slaughtered and the fresh blood-stained skin is used for wrapping up the bodies for burial in a grave dug by the attendant women in the calves' kraal. As soon as the mother is able to leave her hut she is led to the front entrance of the kraal to undergo a secret cleansing ceremony. For this purpose a hole filled with water is prepared by the midwives and witch doctor. In order to rid her of the bad blood within her body, which is regarded as *oshithila*, the whole skin surface is scraped with a native metal razor (*oshimbi*) in such manner as to cause abrasions and the flow of blood. After a thorough and vigorous washing she is slowly led back to her hut, on the way to which a wooden pestle, generally used for stamping corn, is placed across her path in such a manner that by tripping over it she will upset a pot of water lightly balanced over a small grass fire. By intentionally stumbling on this obstacle the water is spilt over the fire, causing a cloud of smoke to rise through which she has to pass. The smoke takes with it the last of the evil influences with which she was possessed. A quiet feast of relatives and intimate friends then takes place while the young girls sing and dance outside the kraal. The husband has to undergo a similar cleansing ceremony (*okushatua* or drawing of blood). With the same razor incisions are made on his thighs, wrists, forearms and tongue so as to rid him of *oshithila* blood which, unless removed, might bring about a recurrence of the shameful event. His cleansing is a short and simple ceremony. After these ceremonies life in the kraal goes on as before. No further notice is taken of the grave of the murdered twins. Among the rank and file the birth of twins, though also considered an unholy and unclean event, is not followed by the murder of the infants, the parents merely being required to undergo the cleansing process.

Before the naming ceremony the father informs the mother to call together her relatives and friends. All those who attend bring beer and food. A special friend of the father brings some strands of bark from the *omugolo* bush and fashions it into a small necklace and belt. With these he proceeds to the mother's hut and places them on the child

together with the customary leather belt made of ox-hide. Sitting on the ground close to his wife the father takes up the infant and passes it under his legs twice before handing it back to her with the remark " Here is your child, his or her name is, so and so." The relatives and friends are then called and the name, which has been kept secret up till then, is disclosed. The father then removes the bark belt and the necklace. This ceremony (*eluko*) is celebrated with much beer-drinking and feasting. The name chosen is generally that of the father's greatest friend, whether a relative or not, who is thereafter held in high esteem by the whole family. He also acts as a kind of god-father and after the naming presents the child with cattle or other presents, depending upon his wealth or standing. Later, when the boy is able to walk, his father presents him with a knob kirri, a bow and wooden arrows, and a war whistle charm (*ochia*). The latter is given so that he may grow up into a clever cattle raider. If a girl, she is presented with a small sifting basket by her mother. The first born (*osheli*) is usually the favourite and always the most important child in a family.

If the mother has lost any children when they were quite young or during child-birth the head of the new arrival is not shaved, the hair being required for attaching the berries of the *ohombe* tree (*ethitikili*) in order to increase the vitality of the infant. This is done by an *onganga*.

Puberty and Initiation.

Boys.—Boys, as soon as they are old enough to use their bows and arrows or are able to throw a kirri, are required to take part in the day's work. A boy's first duties generally consist of herding the calves and small stock in close proximity to the kraal; later he goes further afield and also assists his mother in collecting firewood and other minor duties. His next step up is to relieve his father and take charge of the large stock under the latter's supervision. Thereafter and as soon as a younger brother is able to relieve him, he assists the father in his general occupations. In dry seasons, when grazing and water are scarce, the stock is sent to distant cattle posts outside the occupied area. Here are concentrated the herds of several families and grown up boys keenly look forward to their sojourn and work on these out-posts. This is the period when they are regarded as young men. Their knowledge of stock, fighting, hunting and the first journey to distant salt pans to collect salt, are among the first proofs of manhood.

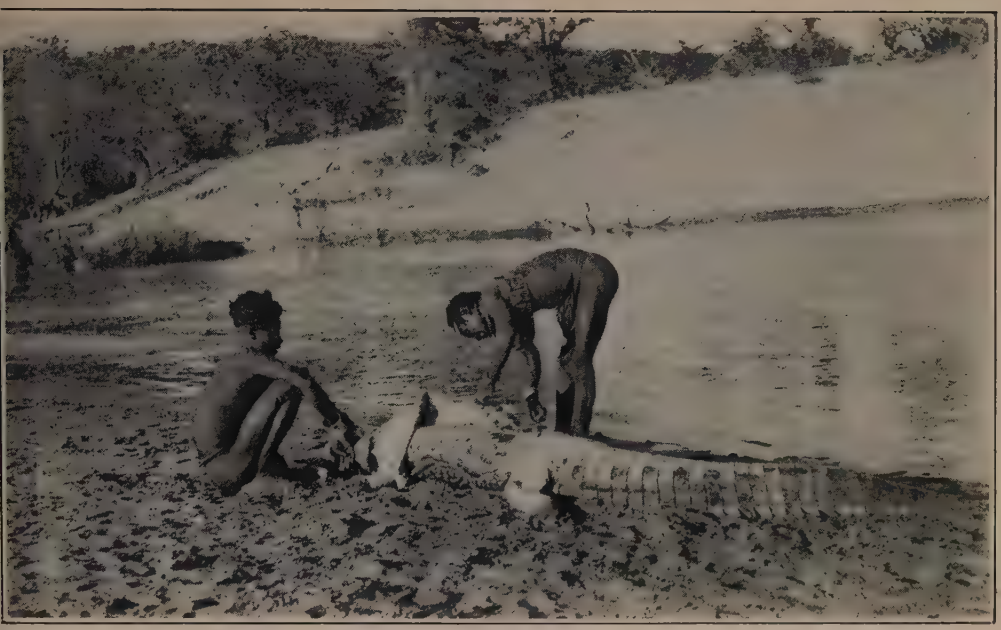
Circumcision has died out almost completely. Though not compulsory it was at one time looked upon as a very important function. It was as a rule performed between the ages of 16 and 20 years, especially among youths of the ruling classes and the dependents of the Chief. At times, however,

it was done at a much earlier age. The subjects for circumcision were selected by the Chief. The latter usually invited the parents concerned to meet at his kraal and secretly arranged with them the details of the ceremony. A big enclosure called *etanda*, with the necessary huts, kitchens, store-rooms, etc., was built at the customary place. When everything was ready the parents were secretly informed to bring their sons at night. They were taken to the *etanda* by their fathers, or else by men who had already undergone circumcision. Wise men (witch doctors) were summoned by the Chief from neighbouring tribes. In the case of the Ondongas they came from Ehinga in Angola beyond the Kunene River. At the *etanda* the doctors received the boys and placed them in one apartment. Their leather or cloth aprons, girths and all wearing apparel were removed and burnt. The doctors then performed the operations, applied the medicines and attended to them generally. The subjects remained in the nude state until the wounds had healed. No one was allowed near them and they were not allowed to speak to anybody. Women especially were not permitted within sight of the *etanda*. Their food, provided by Chief and parents, was prepared by a selected circumcised man. No one else was allowed to handle or touch the food lest it should bring bad luck (*oshithila*) and cause bad health or shorten the lives of the boys.

After the lapse of three or four weeks the witch doctors notified the Chief that the wounds had healed and that the boys were well again. After one or two minor ceremonies such as the clothing of them in new dress and the celebration of their newly acquired and much enhanced status they were sent back to their parents. They were thereafter entitled to participate fully in tribal life. After marriage they became known as *akuluntu* and were thus privileged to take leading parts in most of the tribal ceremonies and rites. They were eligible for the important position of guarding the tribal fire and also allowed to manufacture the earthen bricks (*omisaga*) which support the big earthenware cooking pots in a Chief's kraal.

Girls.—Girls undergo training in domestic affairs from an early age. They are always in close attendance upon and under the supervision of their mothers and assist in such duties as the collecting of firewood, fetching of water, stamping of corn, etc. One of the principal duties of young maidens is the care of their younger brothers and sisters.

When they reach the marriageable age they are required to pass through the *ohango* test and feast before being permitted to marry. The *ohango* is one of the most ancient and important of the tribal ceremonies and is celebrated in various ways by the different tribes. Its practice has, unlike that of many of the other old-standing customs, survived the dis-



Skinning a Crocodile on the banks of the Kunene River.

Kraal with surrounding corn lands. Baobab tree in centre.

Corn baskets or retainers.

Native Potters, Ombalantu (underground moulding chamber in background).

integrating influences of advancing civilization. It takes place every second year. The day on which it is to commence is always fixed by the Chief and generally coincides with the appearance of the new moon. It is carried out under the direction and supervision of a witch doctor and a witch, who are selected by the Chief and act as directors of ceremonies. The date of commencement having been decided upon the Chief summons the latter to his kraal and orders them to commence their preparations for the *ohango*. Before their departure each is presented with a bull calf which is slaughtered as soon as they reach their respective homes.

In the initial stages of the feast the witch takes the leading part. One of her first duties is to prepare from the *omugolo* bush and wild fig leaves the medicine which is required to be applied to the foods on which the *ohango* girls are fed. When everything is in readiness she returns to the kraal of the Chief for the girl known as *omtetekeli* (the leading girl) who is to take the leading part in the ceremony. The *omtetekeli* is the Chief's representative and goes as the daughter of his kraal and consequently that of the tribe. In former days she was chosen from among orphans in poor circumstances, but at the present time the Chief selects any suitable girl from his tribe. After the *omtetekeli* has been handed ever to her the witch leaves the Chief's kraal to announce to the tribe that *ohango* will soon commence. Mothers with eligible daughters now prepare them for the ceremony by smearing them from head to foot with fat in order to give them a good cleansing. The latter then organise themselves into small parties which, with other young friends, rush about among the tribe to raid sheep and goats to serve as food at the forthcoming feast. This procedure is sanctioned by custom and losses sustained in this manner are taken in good part by the owners.

At a given word from the old witch the girls collect at the kraals of the directors of ceremonies. Their first meal at these places consists of raw kaffir corn and sour milk. The witch doctor and the witch stand over them whilst they eat and drink and none of the girls, while having their meal, are permitted to look up at either of them, the utmost respect being demanded by the latter. From this time onwards the powers of the witch doctor (*onganga*) are unlimited and at the actual feast he ranks even higher than the Chief. The girls are now strictly under his charge. When night arrives they are placed in huts and sleep crammed closely together as during this period they go through a trial of physical endurance and hardship.

On the following day the *onganga* proceeds to the place where the ceremony is to be held. It is known as *onkulumbala* and always occupies a site on which was situated the kraal of a circumcised Chief. Circumcision having fallen

into abeyance in Ovamboland since the time of old Chief Nangolo, who ruled in Ondonga some seventy years ago, but few suitable sites remain. In the Ondonga area only two are available still, namely: those on which the kraals of the Chiefs Nangolo and Shikongo had stood. Having reached the *onkulumbala*, the *onganga* erects a couple of huts out of saplings and green branches for himself and the witch. These huts are the first of what will ultimately become the *etsali* or big kraal with separate apartments for the *ohango* girls, their mothers, friends and assistants. After completing the huts he returns to his kraal and summons the girls to proceed to the *onkulumbala* with him. They are accompanied by the old witch and their mothers, the latter carrying the pots, baskets, corn, mortars and other necessary domestic utensils. The work of erecting the kraal (*etsali*) is now proceeded with. The girls, however, are collected in an open space some distance from the *etsali*, not being permitted to take part in the building operations. They are required to be kept in the sun all day as a test of their virginity. Each mother plants a mortar and provides a pestle for her daughter on the space set apart for the stamping of corn. Towards evening a little corn is placed in each mortar, the girls are marched up in single file by the directors of ceremonies and each given a pestle to stamp the corn. The pestles vary in length from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 feet and in weight from 30 to 45 lbs. The stamping process is consequently very strenuous work, demanding absolute physical fitness. Should any of the girls be pregnant this heavy test, which is continued for a considerable time, will soon begin to tell on them, especially after having spent a whole day in the hot sun. They are closely watched during the process by the *onganga* and witch. Any signs of fatigue or collapse are looked upon as proof that the girl concerned is pregnant and not fit to marry according to tribal custom. Any girl who drops out is immediately pounced upon by the others. Her garments are torn off and she is flogged and beaten with anything on which they can lay their hands, being literally thrown out of the ceremony. Her mother is fined by the *onganga* and often has to pay several head of cattle for bringing such an insult to the tribe. This, however, does not end the matter. The girl has to proceed to the Chief's kraal to give an account of herself and, according to the mood of the Chief, may be similarly dealt with by him.

When the girls have passed the first corn stamping test they are sprinkled with corn flour by the *onganga* and thereafter led out into the open by the leading girl (*omtetekeli*). It is their first short respite. Thereafter, led by the *onganga*, they enter the *etsali* for the first time. The mothers are immediately summoned to clothe their daughters in *ohango* dress which consists of a skirt made from plaited palm fibre. Brass or other metal bracelets, anklets, and ornaments are discarded

and replaced by articles made from palm leaves. After being dressed they are given more food to which medicine had previously been added by the *onganga*. After that they retire for the night, being again huddled together in the small newly-erected huts. At dawn on the following day they are roused by the *onganga* by means of the *olufuko* (wedding horn). They start the day with great rejoicing and happiness, the *onganga* slowly stalking about the place and sounding the wedding horn. After a short outing they return to partake of more medicated food and then go through a further corn stamping test. At midday the real *ohango* dance (*okandangala*) commences outside the *etsali*. To the tune of many tom-toms, clapping of hands, singing, shrieking, etc., the girls dance alone, facing the drummers. Men are not permitted to take part in the dancing but the mothers and other women take a turn at it off and on. The dancing often continues right through the night and, with short interruptions for stamping corn and similar work, is kept up as long as the ceremony lasts, generally three to four weeks.

When the moon is on the wane the *onganga* sends word to the Chief that it is time to break up. The latter immediately signifies his intention to visit the *ohango*. Great preparations are made for the Chief's reception. Prior to his arrival the Chief sends an ox to each of the directors of ceremonies and one to the leading girl. If he happens to want to marry one of the girls at the *ohango* he sends her a big present in cattle, generally ten or more head. The oxen, after being rounded up by a crowd of natives at the *etsali*, are killed one by one by an assegaai thrust through the heart. A man, experienced in the use of the assegaai, is chosen for the purpose. On arrival of the Chief the meat is divided among the people and a great feast takes place. Beer of a special brew is supplied to the Chief on the occasion. The latter, on returning to his kraal, sends another messenger to the *onganga* to inform him that the *ehonga* or Chief's assegaai will come on the next day. For this purpose he collects a small army of young men and sends them to the *etsali*, headed by an old man who carries the assegaai. As they go along they sing "Our Chief and his assegaais are stronger than those of other countries" and on reaching the *etsali* rush at and wage a mimic war on the mortars in revenge for all the arduous work caused to their young women by the latter. This episode signifies the termination of the ceremony. Another night is spent at the *etsali* which is then burnt down by the young girls and their friends. They then proceed to the kraal of the *onganga* at which a liberal meal is served to them, the first wholesome meal since the beginning of the ceremony. Each is thereafter given her tribal headdress (*echicho*), worn by married women and those who have passed through the *ohango* ceremony, and is subsequently considered to be *omfuko*, *i.e.*, of age and fit to marry.

Courtship and Marriage.—Ovambo girls as a rule marry when quite young. Courtship often commences long before a marriageable age is reached. Headmen of quite advanced age frequently train young girls, generally maidens in their employ, in their habits and ways with a view to ultimately marrying them. Among the rank and file, marriage takes place only after a long period of courtship.

A man wishing to marry sends a message through a mutual woman friend to the girl of his choice. On receipt of the messages the latter informs her mother. If no objections are raised a favourable reply is sent and courtship begins. The first act of the suitor is to send her a present of a string of beads as a sign of their betrothal. Betrothal, however, does not confer on him the right to marry her. He thereafter frequently calls at the kraal of her parents and is regarded as an intimate friend of the family. Marriage having ultimately been decided upon between them after a lengthy courtship, it is necessary to obtain the consent of her father. The suitor consequently sends an elderly male or female friend to state his case. After permission has been obtained, marriage takes place as soon as the girl has passed through the *ohango* ceremony. On the appointed day the father of the bride calls together relatives and friends, all of whom bring beer and food. The bridegroom brings an ox as a present to the bride's mother. This present is known as *igonda*. The payment of lobola is not met with among the Ovambo.

The actual marriage ceremony is short and simple. The couple seat themselves opposite each other in one of the living apartments. Only the relatives on both sides are allowed to be present at this stage. A receptacle containing a mixture of ochre and fat is produced and they anoint each other's face and upper parts of the body. This act is known as *epololo* and is the seal to marriage. After this, all withdraw to another part of the kraal to partake of refreshments leaving the bridegroom by himself. The latter's friends are subsequently sent to celebrate the event with him, beer and food being provided by the mother-in-law. The animal brought as *igonda* is slaughtered on this occasion for the wedding feast. The feasting over, a big calabash of beer is placed in the main kaffir kraal to serve as a parting drink to those visitors who had brought presents. It is called *ondjupa yongalo*. With this act the wedding ceremony comes to an end.

Towards evening the bridegroom returns to his own kraal but the bride remains with her parents. It would be most improper if she were to accompany him to his kraal immediately after the marriage. After two or three days he sends a special girl friend to fetch her to his kraal where the new couple start life.

Antemarital intercourse resulting in pregnancy is looked upon as a national disgrace, particularly among the Ondonga tribe. Abortion is said never to have been practised in the Ondonga area. An unmarried woman found to be pregnant was taken out to the bush, bound up in bundles of grass and, on the Chief's instructions, burnt alive. The man who was responsible for her condition was similarly dealt with. Among the other tribes abortion was formerly freely practised. Pregnant girls from one tribe used to be sent to another, especially the Ombalantu, for the purpose. It was procured by means of vigorous massage and also pounding of the abdomen with heavy wooden pestles. Tight lacing with riems or palm fibre rope was also resorted to. After the pregnancy had been terminated, such a girl became eligible to attend and pass through the *ohango* ceremony.

Death and Burial.—Burial rites and customs vary a good deal among the different tribes. In former years in the Ondonga area after the death of a Chief no one was permitted to be buried until such time as the Chief's grave (*ompampa*) had been washed clean by the seasonal rains. To have disturbed the ground in the deceased ruler's area for burial purposes before rain had fallen would not only have annoyed the spirits but would also have been a sign of disrespect (*onthino*) to the dead Chief. Hence the bodies of persons who died during such a period were dragged out into the bush and burnt. Those of persons who had committed suicide or had died from disease were never buried but simply left to wild animals in the bush. Persons who died during the course of the *ohango* ceremony were dealt with in a similar manner.

In the Ukuambi area the dead, with the exception of the Chief, were not buried, the bodies being thrown out on the veld. The land and country belonging to the Chief, his subjects had no claim whatever to their dead being given a last resting place on his soil.

Headmen and the heads of kraals are buried in the cattle kraal, as is done in the case of Chiefs; their wives in the vicinity of the area set apart for the stamping of corn and their children in the enclosure for the calves. Common people were buried in a sitting posture in a grave, but the corpse was not wrapped in the skin of a freshly-slaughtered animal.

Economic Conditions.

Food Supply.

The Ovambo are an agricultural people and dependent mainly on the annual rainfall for their food supply. Planting commences after the onset of the rainy season when water collects in and soon fills the oshanas, vleis and other depressions. As the season advances and downpours continue the country becomes submerged to a large extent and assumes the

appearance of an enormous expanse of water studded with numerous inhabited islands. At such times and particularly when the flood waters of the northern watercourses inundate the flat, sandy region of Ovamboland, it becomes practically impassable to all methods of transport. The water recedes rapidly after the close of the rainy season and has generally disappeared completely by the end of July. From then onwards the inhabitants are dependent entirely on water which has collected in the dams and waterholes constructed by them and on underground water obtained from wells. During the dry season the country presents a very barren and parched appearance and the water question soon becomes acute. The grazing becomes poor and stock fall off rapidly in condition.

The staple food is a hardy quick-maturing variety of millet (durra) which is stamped and eaten in the form of a dry porridge. Kaffir corn, though not as drought-resisting as millet, is grown extensively, but is used principally for making beer. Among the well-to-do classes it is also eaten as porridge, being, it is said, more digestible and palatable than millet. The beer contains a very small percentage of alcohol and forms an essential constituent of the diet of the people. In addition to millet and kaffir corn, crops of beans, pumpkins, melons, ground nuts, etc., are also extensively grown.

Agricultural work is performed by the women who devote a great deal of time to the preparation and cultivation of the fields. Kraal manure is used as fertilizer. Small simply-constructed hoes are employed in cultivation. Planting is done on raised beds in order to allow the flood waters to run off readily and to prevent brack rising from below.

The ordinary food supply is supplemented by the fruit of various indigenous fruit trees in which the country is exceptionally rich.

Among the most important of these are the ivory palm (*omulunga*), wild fig (*omkuyu*), marula (*mugongo*), *omuandi*, *omnye*, *omuve*, and the wild orange (*omguni*). The ivory palm is the most useful from the economic point of view, its leaves being used for baskets, dresses, thatching, etc., its leaf stems for bows and its nuts as food. In former times palm wine was made from the sap tapped from the stem. The fruit of the marula and *omuve* also enter largely into the dietary of the people. Beer made from marula fruit is a popular but somewhat intoxicating beverage. Other edible plant foods such as wild onions and potatoes, various roots and berries, etc., are plentiful during the rainy season. Fruit trees are jealously guarded by the inhabitants against injury or destruction.

The country is likewise rich in both large and small stock. Animals are, however, seldom killed for food. To slaughter a beast is considered a luxury in which only the rich can indulge and even the latter resort to it only on festive occa-

sions. The native cattle are small but of a sturdy breed and exceptionally hardy. The small stock consist mainly of goats as sheep do not thrive well. Horses, mules and donkeys are gradually being introduced. The last named are increasing rapidly in numbers. All the Chiefs and most of the headmen own horses.

The people may, on the whole, be said to be in a prosperous condition. Even in years with an average rainfall the harvests are plentiful enough to supply the needs of the population and the pastures sufficient to keep the stock in fairly good condition. Owing to the improvident habits of the people, who give no thought to the morrow, famine is very liable to occur in times of severe or prolonged droughts. When food is plentiful they are inclined to feed themselves not only too well but often wastefully. Only the middle and richer classes store up grain from season to season and generally have in reserve a supply sufficient to meet their requirements for two years.

Industries.

The principal industries are basketry, pottery and metal working. Basketry and pottery are confined entirely to women and are taught to girls when still quite young. Baskets of various shapes and designs are used largely as household utensils and also for trading purposes. Pot making is not hereditary or reserved to particular families—any woman may acquire the art. The most suitable clay for pottery is found in the Ukuambi district which is noted for its potters and supplies the bulk of the country's requirements. The other tribes also manufacture earthenware pots and other utensils of good quality but not on an extensive scale. The workmanship does not show the same skill as is met with among some of the tribes in the Union. The large beer and water vessels, meat dishes, etc., are nevertheless remarkably symmetrical in form.

Ovambo smiths work in iron and copper. Iron is used for the manufacture of agricultural implements, knives, assegaais, arrow heads, bead work, etc., and copper for that of the massive leg rings worn by the women, and bead ornaments. In former years iron was obtained from native ores mined in Angola but since access to the mines has been cut off scrap iron of every description has taken the place of the native iron. Copper was likewise smelted from native ore which was obtained from the vicinity of the present mines in the Grootfontein district. Native smiths undergo a long period of training and ultimately show a remarkable degree of skill in their craft, notwithstanding the very primitive design of the anvils, hammers, tongs and other tools used by them. As an instance of this may be cited the making of a breech-lock for a cannon which fell into the hands of the late Chief Mandume. On recapture of the gun, from which several

shots had been fired by the Chief's men, the new breechlock was found to have stood the strain very well. A large number of smiths is still to be seen at work in certain districts, particularly in Ukuanyama. They are, however, rapidly disappearing under the altered conditions of life resulting from contact with civilisation and the competition caused by the importation of articles of European manufacture.

Most of the customs to which reference has been made in this brief report are no longer observed to their full extent among any of the tribes. The more revolting among them, such as those which led to an unnecessary and cruel sacrifice of human life under the tyrannical and despotic rule of chiefs in the past, have fortunately disappeared entirely owing to the gradual enlightenment of the native mind under European influence. The influence of the *onganga* is on the wane and the practices which are still indulged in have been divested of most of their objectionable features. Content and happiness are steadily taking the place of the constant fear for life and property under which the people lived until recently under tribal régime.

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THE BERG DAMARA.

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(Translated from the original by the Translation Bureau of the Administration of South West Africa.)

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THE BERG DAMARA.

1. Distribution and History.

1. When Pieter Brand, the companion of Willem van Reenen, in 1791 boldly penetrated to the Swakop River, the northern boundary of the habitations and pastures of the Hottentots, he found a small black people in the Auas Mountains and at the Swakop River. This people was distinctly different from the Hereros living to the north, both in physical characteristics and in its mode of living. Brand brought the first news of them to the world. There are no clues from which even the approximate numbers of this people could be deduced. At the present time there are about 25,000 Berg Damaras in South West Africa, most of them living in Hereroland, but many also scattered throughout Namaland.

2. In the old days the chief centres of the Berg Damaras were the inaccessible Auas and Erongo Mountains, the Otjair Highlands and the Brandberg. From those times dates the name !Hom-dama, Berg Damaras. It was hardly from choice or predilection that they lived in the mountains. As most of them possessed goats, settlement in the lowlands would have suited their purposes better. Since, however, they were violently persecuted in the lowlands, their only protection and security lay in the mountain fastnesses. Wherever they found them the Hereros killed them with their *Kieries*, and at the best of times cast their young men into perpetual slavery, as herds and menials. The Hottentots exterminated complete sibs with the aid of their firearms. They seemed to regard a free Damara as a reproach against the Hottentot race. They looked upon the Berg Damaras as runaway slaves and subjected to slavery every serviceable man.

3. It is hardly possible to ascertain whether the Berg Damaras were also found beyond the Orange River in the old days, but South African tradition tells of a disappeared people, called the Kattea, of whose manner of living some information has survived to modern times. A comparison of these reports with the manner of living of the Berg Damaras in the mountains, inclines one to regard the Kattea of southern Africa as being of the same race as the Berg Damaras of Namaland and Hereroland.

4. The Hottentots called the Berg Damaras, *Chou-daman*. They gave the designation *Daman* to all the dark-skinned tribes of South West. When they learnt to distinguish

between the various black tribes, they called the Hereros *gomaxa-daman, i.e.*, Cattle Damara, and the others, who possessed no cattle but at the best merely a few goats, and whose filth was their greatest distinction, were distinguished by the adjective *Chou*. *Choub* means the ordure of men and birds. Consequently the word is hardly translatable. The Hereros called them *Ovazorotua*, from *Ovatua* = foreigners, servants, conquered, people of inferior standard, and *zoro* = black, thus: black bondsmen.

The Berg Damaras have not risen to the adoption of an own national name. Everything to this effect in the literature on the subject is based on mishearing or incorrect interpretation of what has been heard. They called themselves *Nu Khoin, i.e.*, black people, apparently to distinguish themselves from the Hottentots, whose favourite appellation for themselves was *Awa Khoin, i.e.*, red people. It is a fact that the Berg Damaras are amongst the darkest-skinned tribes of Africa.

5. Although one soon learns to distinguish an Herero from a Berg Damara, it is not as if the latter people possessed a uniform type. Many Berg Damaras are thick set and short of stature; the members of one tribe in the Otavi Highlands are all strikingly short. Frequently, however, one meets slender people above average tallness. In most cases the skull is round, in others long. Many have a low receding forehead, while there are others amongst them who have a remarkably high and straight brow. In fact the latter is admired by them as a sign of beauty and old songs praise the "high brow, like that of the wild ox." Most of them have flat noses, broad nostrils and the root of the nostrils sunken. This is not the case with all Berg Damaras, however. Strikingly large noses of fine cut are also met with. Frequently the ears are small, very hard and gristly, at the same time many have medium-sized ears of remarkable softness. Large, long and soft ears are regarded as being beautiful. The lips are usually reverted and thick, the mouth large, and yet thin lips and beautifully formed mouths are not infrequent. These remarkable features indicate that the Berg Damaras can hardly be considered as a pure race. Much foreign blood may have been absorbed in the course of years and in earliest times the tribe may have been constituted from various elements.

6. Science has hitherto been unable to solve the question under which branch of the human family the Berg Damaras should be classed and what their country of origin must have been. Themselves they know nothing beyond the fact that they and their ancestors have lived in South West since the days before the Hereros immigrated into this country. We also know that in days gone by they were the bondsmen and herds of the Hottentots. Their legends and tales contain some

things which are not local in colour, but lead one to presume some other residence in former times, *e.g.*, a tale of the rape of the first fire, in which mention is made of a river which flows the whole year round. There is no such river in South West. It is also peculiar that the black Berg Damaras should speak the language of the Hottentots. Where it is stated in the literature on the subject that they speak this language but imperfectly, this opinion is not altogether true and the conclusion drawn therefrom that it cannot be so long since the change of language took place must be rejected. That the Berg Damaras do not enunciate the clicks as clearly as the Hottentots is due to the fact that the tip of the Berg Damara's tongue is usually thick and thus not suited for the clicks. And if their pitch is not so clear, that is due to the rougher voices of the Berg Damaras. To the more primitive spiritual constitution and their less mobile mentality must be ascribed the fact that they are not as proficient in the syntax of the language as the Hottentots. There are, in fact, sufficient numbers of Berg Damaras who are as proficient as the Hottentots both in the enunciation and the syntax of the language.

7. The general view is that when the Hottentots arrived in South West Africa, they found the Berg Damaras as the aboriginal inhabitants, subjected them and forced them to adopt their language. All the authors support this view. If this view were correct one would at least expect to find some small sibs in the inaccessible Brandberg or the Otavi Highlands, who retain some memory of the original language. Diligent research has, however, shown that though the Berg Damaras of the Brandberg speak a difficult dialect of the Nama language, they too no longer have a distinct language. In the dialect spoken by the inhabitants of the Brandberg have been preserved some old forms, but they belong to the Nama language.

I have found a series of expressions in the vocabulary of the Berg Damaras, which do not conform to the laws of the formation of words of the Nama language and which the scientist must consequently regard as loan words. According to the researches of Dr. B. Struck of Dresden, these loan words are derived from several Soudanese languages.

8. If the language of the Berg Damaras contains words borrowed from Soudanese languages, which they do not acknowledge to be loan words but claim to be their very own property, then another hypothesis is as well-founded as that which assumes that the Berg Damaras are the aborigines of South West. This hypothesis, whose only advocate I have so far been, is as follows: It is known that the Hottentots are probably North African Hamites. They were sheep breeders and migrated southwards. A people with characteristics such as the Hottentots possess, would require servants. It is

to be assumed that they acquired these servants on their nomadic wanderings by recruiting such servants and herds from the African negro tribes of the interior as they were able to obtain. It must nowise be concluded that they merely recruited men. Whole families may have joined them. As the nomadic Hottentots penetrated further, the families of their servants migrated along with their masters. The children acquired the language of the masters with whom they lived. This can be the only explanation for the fact that the Berg Damaras acquired the Nama language to a man. Later, after their arrival in South West Africa, when the tribal organisation of the Hottentots grew lax and their herds of sheep diminished in poor seasons, also when wars amongst the Hottentots decimated their tribes, many Berg Damara families may have found themselves without masters or livelihood. They then had to live on the produce of the land. But the produce of the country consists of nothing more than bulbs, the fruit of trees and shrubs, honey and game. In other words, the Berg Damara was forced to live the life of a Bushman if he was unable to provide himself with a better lot by looting or bartering goats from the Bechuanas. As a consequence we find amongst the Berg Damaras an upper class, which prefers to settle in the valleys and possesses goats, and a lower class, living absolutely like Bushmen on the spoils of the chase or the fruits of the veld.

9. Though to this day no real tribal community exists amongst them and a chieftainship is unknown to them, every family of any size leading a separate life, they fall into eleven national divisions according to the region which they inhabit. It would not be correct to call these divisions tribes, as within these individual divisions there is no other connection than the accident of relationship and the population of the same region. These divisions are as follows:

1. /Gowanin, between Rehoboth and Hoachanas.
2. Tsoa-xou-daman, in the valley of the Swakop River.
3. !Oe-gan, in the Erongo Mountains.
4. !Omen, at the Waterberg and along the Omaruru River.
5. Aro-daman, at the Waterberg.
6. Animin, in the neighbourhood of Okahandja.
7. Oumin, east of the Waterberg.
8. /Geiö-daman, in the Outjo veld.
9. Aobe-//ain, in the Omaruru veld.
10. Dauna-daman, in the Brandberg.
11. Ao-guwun, South of Zesfontein in the Kaokoveld.

10. As already mentioned the Hottentots and Hereros in olden times regarded the Berg Damaras living within their reach as their rightful servants. The Berg Damaras who lived free in the mountains were a source of annoyance to

them. The Hottentots regarded them as incorrigible stock thieves. The dislike of the Hereros, whose cattle they did not as frequently steal, was due to the annual veld fires for which the Berg Damaras were responsible. It is true the Hereros also burnt large portions of their veld, so that their cattle might have green grass in August and September and so be accustomed to the transition from dry winter grazing to the fresh grass of the rainy season, in this manner avoiding heavy losses. The Berg Damaras, however, indiscriminately burnt large grazing areas, not considering the requirements of the Hereros. The reason for this was to have open veld for their hunting expeditions, to attract game to the sprouting grass and to achieve a larger harvest of honey. Since the Hereros had frequently to contend with serious shortage of grazing as a consequence of this indiscriminate treatment of the veld, they, at all times, pursued the Berg Damaras mercilessly and in the most favourable circumstances made them their herds. It did happen that a good herd was accepted as a member of the Herero nation after certain ceremonies had been duly performed.

Such " tamed " Berg Damaras were readily employed by the Hereros as labourers and artisans. In olden days the Berg Damaras made the iron heads of the Hereros, forged their iron axes and spears. Later they repaired their guns, and the old chieftain Tjamuaha, as well as his son and successor Maherero, maintained Berg Damara families on the river bank near the village, whose duty it was to provide tobacco for the Hereros from the gardens specially laid out for this purpose. It is a remarkable fact that it was the Berg Damaras who exercised the art of working in iron. Did they bring this art with them from their Central African homes?

11. The Berg Damaras have never played a decisive rôle in the history of South West. In the old tribal feuds they suffered only when their lords, the Hottentots or the Hereros, suffered, and when their masters were victorious and things went well with them, the Berg Damara felt little thereof.

The history of the Berg Damara commences with the history of missionary activities amongst them. Since the year 1860 the Mission gathered them together in Rehoboth, Otjimbginue, Okombahe, Omaruru, Tsumamas, Gaub and other settlements, and formed them into communities, appointed their elders, acted as their intermediaries with the Herero chiefs and attained for them the grant of a free area at Okombahe for their exclusive use. At the earnest request of the Mission the reserve at Okombahe was granted the Berg Damaras by the Chief of Omaruru and this cession was later recognised by the German Government, which appointed a Berg Damara as chief over all who entered the reserve. The Government also paid an annual amount of 800 marks to the Herero Chief of Omaruru in consideration of this cession.

Encouraged by this achievement, the Rhenish Mission of Barmen sought to establish a second reserve and a working farm for the Berg Damaras living in the North eastern portion of the Territory. The Mission acquired the well watered farm Gaub, near Tsumeb, and settled Berg Damaras on it, educated them in horticultural pursuits and other useful labours and founded a flourishing community. These natives were not given a chief. They lived on the farm as free farm labourers, possessing goats and cattle, having their own fields and permitting their sons to engage in farm work for which they received wages.

The Berg Damaras received their full freedom only upon the defeat of the Nama and Herero in 1904-7. Having, through the efforts of the Mission and the confirmation of the German Government, received their own reserve and protection of life and property, they remained loyal to the Germans in this war and rendered valuable services.

With the progress of the settlement of the country came a more extensive demand for labour and greater possibility of employment and the Berg Damaras spread over the whole country. There is hardly a place in South West to-day where one does not find Berg Damaras employed as herds, labourers, servants, etc. Even to-day no real national tie exists amongst them. It is true, there are many Berg Damaras who would like to assume the dignity of chief and the example of the nationally united Hereros has not been without effect upon them. The Berg Damara, however, knows of old that there is no possibility of livelihood without labour. For this reason the Berg Damaras are one of those tribes upon whom the economic development of the country can rely to some degree. The Berg Damaras will progress materially and become useful members of the working population of South West as their youth becomes educated to labour, which object is being carried out in all the schools.

II. Physical Characteristics and Culture.

1. Whoever seeks the opportunity of studying the Berg Damara intensively, must seat himself at his fire of an evening. In the cold season it will be burning on the floor of his hut, in the hot season in front of the door. Any old sheet of scrap iron serves to screen the fire from the wind. Around the fire lie some stones, on which the men take their seats, if they have not yet risen to the possession of a small home-made stool. The women and children sit with hunched up knees on the ground. The men, sitting on their hard seats, lean both elbows on their knees and probably rest their heads on both hands. They are now at rest. The day's toil is done and the most beautiful part of the day has commenced. The Berg Damara can abandon himself to the

enjoyment of sitting at the burning fire with his family and chat to visiting friends. With great care the woman pushes one piece of wood after the other, being arranged in a radiating circle, into the centre of the fire, thus regulating it. She has acquired such skill in this, that the European house-wife can rival her in this only if she possesses a stove fitted with all modern accessories.

2. This is the best moment for studying the Berg Damara, who has remained untouched by civilisation. He has doffed all that he has had to wear in the shape of old rags for the sake of other people's susceptibilities. His loin-skin is his only garment. It is scarcely a span in breadth and about two spans long. The cloak of skin which the woman has worn slung about her shoulders during the day time, she had also discarded and she sits clothed only in her apron. This is considerably longer and broader than that of the man. On her arms and feet we notice rings of leather and brass, there may also be some iron wire. We note those of skin. They are the hunting trophies of the man. After a successful hunt of big game, he cuts a ring from the skin of his prize as a souvenir for his wife. By the number of her leather rings one recognises the wife of a successful hunter. In contrast with the Hereros and Hottentots her head is uncovered. Only those who have come into touch with the civilization of South West or who themselves live within the civilized zones wear a headdress, which as a rule is seldom washed. While a Herero woman would consider it life-long shame to be seen bare headed by others, a Berg Damara woman is incapable of such niceties of the feeling of shame.

3. What strikes us about the adults is the absence of any inclination to obesity. The skin of their bodies is seldom stretched and there is seldom a layer of fat. The *veldkos* (field food) contains but little fat and when game is killed in the chase, it must be eaten as soon as possible, on which account, too, the storing up of fat is prevented. We are struck by the fact that the skin over the stomach, particularly in elderly people of both sexes, is extraordinarily contracted. It lies in fold upon fold, like the skin of a dried-out apple. The real colour of the skin is difficult to recognise. In the cold season one would believe that the skin of the whole body is covered with fine grey ash. As the weather grows warmer the colour turns into more and more distinct black, forming a deep black band on either side of the loins at the base of the spine.

4. It is not surprising that the colour of the skin of those who live unhindered in the hills should be unrecognisable. An old custom commands the Berg Damara never under any circumstances to wash his body. Water is dangerous. It robs the hunter in an inexplicable manner of his good fortune in the chase and the wife of a hunter would do her husband

untold harm, were she to use water. If the crust of dirt which forms in course of time should become too troublesome, it is softened by the application of fat and removed by being briskly rubbed with the hands or a piece of game skin. It is also permitted to clean the hands and arms with broth. When there is touch of fat on the sinuous, muscular body, we see clearly that there is hardly another people among Africans whose skin is so black. Deep black skin is a particular sign of beauty, much lauded even in the songs of this primitive people.

5. Treatment of the skin and body is only carried out when health so requires. What makes matters even more surprising is that the care of teeth is almost general. In order to clean the teeth thoroughly a piece of leather crushed to a ball is chewed with energy, or the point of a suitable piece of wood is chewed to form a tooth brush and this is then used. Young people reveal teeth of a wonderful whiteness, which often gives a charming appearance to the smiles of children and young men and women. The teeth of old people are frequently worn down. The hard *veldkos* has prematurely turned them into stumps. Not rarely teeth are extracted at this age. The Berg Damaras have their own peculiar manner of removing old or faulty teeth. The expert seats himself on the ground in front of the patient, holding in his one hand a short pointed stick and in the other hand a round stone. The stick is carefully inserted between the roots of the tooth and a blow on the unpointed end removes the sick tooth.

6. The medical knowledge of the Berg Damara is extraordinarily small and there is hardly even a moderate knowledge of medical field herbs, excepting in the case of some person, who has grown up amongst the Hottentots, Hereros or Bushmen and derived from them some knowledge of the application of herbs. Painful portions of the body are treated by incisions in the skin which are burnt out with the blunt end of a root having the thickness of a finger. I have seen people whose chests, bodies and backs are covered by more than a hundred old scars of incisions and burns. One might almost take these scars at times to be tattoo marks, as they frequently show definite designs. This, however, is an erroneous explanation. The true Berg Damara does not tattoo himself. The semi-circular deep incisions surround a space, which was once painful, and which it was sought to treat by means of this operation.

In such cases no attempt at a surgical operation is made by simply cutting through the skin with a knife. This might be dangerous and a vein might be injured. Therefore a fold of the skin is taken carefully between two fingers and only that portion of the fold which can be reached above the finger is cut.

Burning, as a rule, only follows when incisions have been unsuccessful. Inflammation of the lungs or the abdominal organs is also treated by burning with a root. This root is worn bound to a leather necklace. It is of the length and thickness of a finger and is laid in the hot coals of a fire. When the end of the root glows, the ash attaching to it is removed and the glowing coal placed on the skin, at the place where the pain is felt most. It is pressed down, lifted off and replaced until the skin has been burnt through and an open wound has appeared in its place. The Berg Damara does not know in what manner such a treatment will result in a cure. It is possible that at the bottom of it lies a supposition, now no longer clear, that the disease has been caused by some foreign agency, which is attacked by fire in order to drive it away. But it is also possible that by the external inflammation, thus artificially caused, it is intended to bring the internal inflammation to the surface.

Treatment of disease by witch doctors is as a rule confined to the application of peculiar remedies, which have nothing to do with the national treatment of disease.

7. The older female relatives usually act as midwives. They frequently recognise a wrong position of the child in time and remedy this by massaging with fat. In spite of the uncleanliness which habitually infests a Berg Damara hut, there are few cases of puerperal fever. As rarely does a child die in birth. On the other hand it frequently happens that the infants decline and die, which is mainly due to the lack of proper treatment of infantile ailments. On the whole one may say that the Berg Damara devotes the least possible attention to the care of his body, that hygiene is unknown to him and that he does not know what to do in case of sickness.

8. When the Berg Damara has come into touch with Europeans as a labourer or has come under the influence of the Mission, he acquires by imitation a better mode of living, dresses in European style, but does not know how to set about properly with his clothes, so that they are usually in rags, and gladly avails himself of the help of others in case of sickness. Yet he has a horror of hospitals owing to the fact that he is loth to leave his people when sick and because an old superstition makes him fear the proximity of death in hospital.

III. Habitations and Domestic Occupations.

1. Those who wish to study the development of the primitive hut to the small dwelling house, built in the European style, must examine the Berg Damara hut and its construction. Quite frequently the Berg Damara sleeps without any shelter in the open veld. If he is in a bushy region, he bends the lower arches of the bushes down until they meet thus forming a wall and half of an umbrella, which

gives sufficient shelter for his fire. In this habitation he will live contentedly for weeks. If there is no suitable bush at hand, then branches and twigs suffice him for the construction of his temporary hut. These he places in the ground in a semi-circle, close to one another and closes the interstices with bunches of grass. He may also tie the tips of the branches with bark. Such a hut is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres high and has a diameter of two metres.

The permanent hut is built with somewhat greater care. With his foot he traces a circle of 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres diameter at some suitable spot. On this circle holes of moderate size, some 30 cm. deep are dug with the left hand and the aid of a stick. Into these holes are placed thin and slightly bent branches in such a manner that they meet at the upper end. A space is left open on one side for the entrance. The interstices are filled in with twigs, upon which dry grass is thrown. Where more care is exercised a bow-shaped branch is fixed above the door-opening, 75 cm. from the ground, and the opening above the bow is closed up with twigs and bunches of grass. From this bow a skin is hung which represents the door. The house is now completed. It is regarded as unseemly to enter a house when the skin door is closed.

2. There are rarely more than ten huts in a Berg Damara village and they usually form a circle around a big tree, which is known as the village tree. Seen from afar the huts remind one of medium sized hay-stacks on a European meadow. Strict attention is paid to the order of the arrangement of the huts. In the east of the village is the hut of the " great wife," *i.e.*, the first wife of the village elder, to whom the village belongs. This hut is usually distinguished by a small porch, which is not unlike the entrance of the weaver-bird's nest. The porch is lower than the hut and has a roof. It leads to the door and is one to two metres in length. It serves as a screen against the wind and as additional protection of the interior of the hut.

3. The doorways of the huts all face the inner open space of the village, never the outer side facing the surrounding veld. Not far from the village tree in the centre of the lay-out is the holy fire. Facing the holy fire from a position in front of the hut of the great wife, the huts of the sons, who are approaching majority, and of the nearest relations of the village elder, are seen, while to the left stand the huts of the other wives and the daughters. There is no place in a Berg Damara village for those who do not belong to the family sib. It is, therefore, an easy matter even for a stranger to find his way about in a Berg Damara village. All villages, which conform to the original custom, are laid out in the same way.

It is the man's work to provide the heavy pieces of wood for the new house. For the rest the woman attends to its

Bergdama woman returning from work with a pumpkin, her wage for the day.

Bergdama huts (Bechuana type).

Bergdama preparing and eating "Veldkost."

erection, as the married man is not the owner of the house. The woman is the owner. During the day time and in the evening the man's place of sojourn is at the holy fire. He spends his nights in the hut of the great wife and the other wives according to a fixed rotation.

4. Weather permitting, the activities of the village, including all work, rest and recreation, take place on the open space in front of the various huts. The food is roasted in the hot ash or cooked in simple pots in front of the huts. There soft leather is tanned and prepared for use by hand, twine and rope to be used for snares are made of the fibre of a suitable plant, and iron tools and wooden cups, dishes and buckets are skilfully made. Tobacco pipes, shaped like a cigar, are made from sandstone, nails and bones are turned into arrow heads, the clay of ant heaps is utilised for the manufacture of pots, which are burnt and hardened in the fire. The women make leather aprons for the children, while the men cut hard leather for sandals, which are fastened to the feet by means of a strap which passes between the big toe and its neighbour and is tied with a second at the heel. For the cold season fierce-looking caps are sewn from the skin of a jackal; a twine consisting of iron wire and sinew is used for sewing. Everyone makes what he requires himself. Only in the initial stages is there any specialisation, that is, while the beginner is learning, the more skilful prepare some desired article against payment in meat and skins.

5. Recent times have brought about a thorough change in the Berg Damara villages. The circular family village is only found in inaccessible parts. In the vicinity of the larger settlements, the Berg Damara villages are arranged in long rows. In these settlements imitations of modern style are found next to the old type of hut. There are Berg Damaras, who build their houses according to the style of the Hereros, others prefer the Bechuana type, while others again seek to imitate the four-walled European house with primitive structures of wood, iron or bags. At times one meets with really pretty dwellings, and the lay-out and interiors of the Berg Damara's house indicates his desire to progress.

IV. Family and Sib.

1. Much preparation precedes the establishment of a new family. Frequently these preparations commence before or shortly after the birth of a boy or girl. The fathers of the children agree upon the marriages which are to take place many years after. In recent times these early arrangements have become more rare.

The development of the breasts of young girls is the sign for the first physical preparation for marriage. The child is not allowed to eat a variety of things, which the married

woman may, without fear of danger. Amongst the forbidden things are spring hares, turtle and toucans. Neither may the young girl touch certain berries and portions of the flesh of slaughtered goats or hunted game. A contravention would have to be atoned for by sickness, disease, childlessness or death. In order to bring about a suitable transition from the stage of abstinence to that of the enjoyment of the forbidden foods, the mother and elderly female relatives of the growing daughter effect incisions in the skin below the breasts, each a centimetre in length. These cuts are arranged in a semi-circle. A powder, which consists of a mixture of the forbidden foodstuffs, strongly roasted and pulverised, is placed in the wounds. This makes the body immune. As soon as the cuts have healed, the use of forbidden foods ceases to be harmful.

2. When her first menstrual periods set in, celebrations take place. If the father possesses goats, a goat is slaughtered and its flesh may be consumed by all, irrespective of sex or age. The girl, however, spends the whole day in a solitary hut. The mother as well as the female relatives of the family have admission to this hut. They bedeck the girl with all the ornaments which they are able to obtain and instruct her in the art of preparing a certain powder, with which she will later, as a married woman, powder her body and bestrew her sleeping place in order to remove unpleasant odours of the body and in the skins. She is also instructed in the manner of her conduct towards young men and brothers, and in her later station as a married woman towards her husband. Henceforth she may not associate freely with her brothers as heretofore. On the road she must walk behind them, and when sitting next to one another, she must turn her back to her brother, nor may she look him openly in the face. If a bridegroom has already been selected for her by her parents, she has to " avoid " him in the same manner.

From this day onwards she is regarded as being adult. She accompanies the other women into the veld to gather " *veldkos*." It is of particular significance for the gatherer that she should spend the days of the puberty celebrations in silence. If she does not do so, there is danger of her becoming a chatterbox, who will not be able to do her gathering in silence and with success. The family would be the sufferer.

3. For the first years of his life the boy remains wholly under his mother's supervision. The older he gets, the more he inclines to the company of boys of his own age, with whom he goes on small hunting trips with bow and arrows. His spoils in the shape of mice, birds, lizards, etc., he roasts at his mother's fire and feasts upon them with his friends. In this way he learns early in life to provide for a portion of his livelihood. Before he can, however, be regarded as an

independent man and a hunter, he has to pass through the hunter's initiation. This initiation rarely, if ever, takes place in respect of single lads. No particular age is prescribed. When there is a sufficient number of boys or youths available in the family or amongst friends, the celebrations take place. The father of every candidate has to contribute a goat. Where goats are not available a head of large game is sufficient. An open space at a distance from the village is selected for the celebrations. This space is enclosed by planting branches in the ground. The head of the family who organises the feast, goes into the veld on the evening preceding the feast and seeks bitter herbs and roots. These are pounded and then placed in a wooden bucket full of water and placed on one side for the following morning.

It is not always that the celebrations take place outside the village; in some places a hut of leaves is built within the village.

When the date of the ceremony comes, all the young men, who are to undergo initiation, are awakened, lined up and equipped with bows, quivers and arrows, also lances, by their fathers. An old man takes the head of the column, another the end and the whole train moves into the veld with loud shouts. The procession is supposed to represent a hunting or fighting expedition. The spoils of the chase may be eaten only by the elders, who themselves once underwent initiation as hunters.

While this expedition proceeds, the confidante of the village elder has slaughtered some goats and the meat is cooked over the holy fire in a large number of small pots.

The animals are slaughtered in a particular fashion according to an ancient custom. It is laid on its back and held down in this position. The butcher then cuts open with a knife the skin covering the stomach, inserts his hand in the opening and moves it forward up to the heart, tearing out the living heart with a sharp jerk.

The intestines, and particularly the gall-bladder, are then emptied of their contents, blown up and divided into portions, which are cut off and tied with sinew. When the young men return from the hunt, these distended pieces are attached to their hair.

The celebrations can now commence. The elder fetches the bucket in which the herbs have been soaked and each one of the young men drinks out of the bucket. Thereupon they repair to the leaf hut, while the elders take their meal. One of the elders instructs the youths in the hut, principally upon their conduct in married life.

On the following day another hunt takes place and in the veld instruction is given in the art of the chase. The spoils of this day's hunting may be consumed by the hunters. In the same manner as there is no fixed age for the hunter's

initiation, so the duration of the ceremony is at the discretion of the master of the ceremonies. The order and execution of the various rites also varies in the case of different sibs.

The initiation has to be repeated after a few years. The apprentice as it were, then advances to the status of an assistant. Only after the third ceremony, which frequently takes place in adult years, does the assistant become a master hunter and attain his right to a place at the holy fire, with the elders.

Similarly to the circumcision of the Hereros, the initiation as a hunter brings about a closer association between the participants. Those initiated on the same occasion have to assist one another in war and in the chase and they must stand by one another in times of need. This closer association is felt so strongly that the belief exists that even death respects the bond and usually seeks two or more who were initiated at the same time. For this reason fathers do not permit two sons to take part in the ceremony at the same time.

4. It is the acknowledged right of the young man, whose marriage has not been arranged in early childhood, to be allowed to express his wishes in regard to the choice of a bride to his father, and also to his mother. His wishes are frequently met. For the rest the proposed marriage is the subject of consultation among the men, and when they have made their choice, the mother of the young man, accompanied by the sister or nearest relations of the father, pay a visit to the parents of the girl, in order to open negotiations. If the family agrees, the wedding day is forthwith fixed. There is no mention of a dowry or a purchase price. In recent times, however, and under the influence of Herero customs, a new custom has developed according to which the father of the young man gives the parents of the bride a present of goats or money as a contribution towards the wedding feast.

5. The wedding is celebrated in the most primitive manner. The bridegroom, attended by his parents and some relatives, goes to the village of his bride's parents. The families give one another a present of a knife, an axe, or a newly tanned skin, etc. The wedding feast is distinguished from other meals, if at all, more by the greater quantity of the proffered food than by its variety. There is no marriage ceremony. At night the bridal couple withdraw to a scanty hut, which has been specially built for the wedding night. As a rule the young woman follows her husband to his father's village, or, as frequently happens now-a-days, to the place of his employment.

6. In some respects more consideration is shown towards a pregnant woman than to others of her sex. She carries out her domestic duties up to the hour of her childbed and it frequently happens that she bears her child in the veld, while gathering roots and herbs, and that she returns to the hut

from the veld with her newly-born child. The consideration which is shown her does not by any means include a decrease in her duties, but merely means that her peculiar wishes are readily attended to. If he cannot obtain meat in any other way, her husband feels himself bound to slaughter his last goat to satisfy her craving for meat. Were he not to satisfy her wishes, the resultant penalty might be a still-born child. Even those who are not members of the family would not readily deny the wishes of a woman with child, and this not because of any respect towards the woman or hopeful mother, but because of fear of the evil eye, which is particularly dangerous in these circumstances.

During this time the woman dare not commit adultery with another man, as the penalty might be abortion or a still-birth.

Her mother, her mother's sisters and other elderly female relatives act as midwives at the birth of the child. As a rule they do their work efficiently and a remarkable number of cases of puerperal fever has not been observed in the larger villages. As there are no trained midwives whatsoever, there is no danger that the ailment would be carried from one childbed to another.

7. Usually the woman leaves her bed two or three days later. One might be inclined to conclude that Berg Damara are particularly robust. This conclusion is erroneous. Many women suffer from abdominal ailments which not rarely result in childlessness. Many of these complaints may be due to the untrained attention which the woman receives in childbed and to her own irresponsible conduct. Advice is of little avail as her elderly female relatives have the last word with their own advice.

8. Pregnancy before marriage or as a result of adultery is regarded as a disgrace if the man is an ordinary Berg Damara. Even to this day the most drastic steps are not infrequently taken in order to remove pregnancy. There are women who have made a business of abortions. This they effect by violent massage, girdling the body with leather thongs, even by using the feet on the body. From the fruit of a Medlar a brew is prepared, which has proved successful in many cases.

Unfortunately a Berg Damara girl does not regard it a disgrace to have a child by a rich Herero and to have a child by a white man is even considered an honour and distinction. There are two reasons for this. The Herero and the European are recognised as superior beings and a relationship with such wealthy possessors of money and herds leads to the expectation of many presents. There is naturally no legal claim in this respect.

9. In the olden times, when a mother died in childbed, the child was buried alive with her. The Berg Damara does not

regard this custom as a cruel one. This kind of child murder was only resorted to when there was no other person who could suckle the child, or if there were no goats available, with whose milk an attempt at feeding the child might be made. Now-a-days many means have everywhere become available for the bringing up of orphans and child murder has wholly ceased. To my knowledge the last burial of a living child with its dead mother occurred fifty years ago.

10. Twins are seldom born and their birth is always regarded as a misfortune, since it heralds the death of the head of the village. In former days one of the children had to be buried alive in order to ward off the threatening misfortune. Where the twins were the same sex, it was sufficient if the weaker was buried. When, however, one child was a boy and the other a girl, the boy was buried, notwithstanding the fact that a boy is much more valuable to a Berg Damara than a girl. The reason seems to be that the sacrifice of a male life will have greater prospect of success in warding off the threat against the life of the head of the village. At such funerals the father or some other male relative dug the grave. The older women of the village then laid the child in the grave and filled up the grave with earth and stones. To have killed the child first would have been regarded as an act of brutality.

11. The child is given its name by the father, after the navel cord has dropped off. The father who until then has not yet seen the child—at its birth and after he has had to remain at a distance—prepares himself for the ceremony in a peculiar manner. He tries to get some game which he cooks. With its fat he anoints the upper part of his body with great care. The pieces of dirt which rub off in the process are carefully collected and tied up in a small piece of leather with a small thong. Thereafter the ceremony may proceed. The father enters the mother's hut, hangs the talisman which he has just prepared and which has the power of warding off sickness, around the child's neck, spits on its chest and rubs in the fluid carefully on the child's chest, and then utters the name, which is to commemorate some extraordinary event which occurred in the days preceding or subsequent to the birth.

Besides the name given by the father, the child has others which are given it by relatives, playmates and others. The name given by the father is treated with great respect and frequently a nickname is added to avoid the frequent use of the original name. Some children have half a dozen names. This makes it extremely difficult to identify a person, a difficulty greatly enhanced by the fact that the youth is frequently given new names when he enters the employment of Europeans. In this manner he often collects as many names as he has had employers. Upon the christening of a

child it obtains its Christian name, which is highly prized. None the less the other names also continue in use but in the end the Christian name takes the place of the others. Besides all these names the boy also inherits the mother's name to which is attached the masculine suffix -b. For instance, if the mother's name is !Gores, the son's name is !Goreb. The daughter on the other hand inherits the father's name with the feminine suffix. If the father's name is Tsondab, she is called Tsondas. As a result of the use of the paternal name in the case of both sexes, permanent surnames have been evolved in Christian communities in the course of time, since many people, whose grandparents already belonged to these communities, have adopted the grandfather's name as a surname.

12. Intercourse between brothers and sisters is controlled by a strict custom, which may be described as a taboo. The custom forbids the boy from consuming anything handed to him by the sister. She has to place it on the ground in front of him. Nothing may be consumed which has been touched by the sister's leathern apron, nor may he use the spoon which she has used before him. Brother and sister may never be alone together in a hut, not even during rain or storm. The brother must seek some other hut. It is extremely indecent to look the sister full in the face. He may look at her from the side, but if they happen to be sitting next to one another in company, he must, if possible, turn his back on her.

The sister on the other hand, may not touch what has been carried in the brother's cap or been touched by his apron. When on a journey, she may not walk beside him, but must keep behind him.

13. In former pagan days polygamy frequently occurred. The first wedding was primitive enough, but when a man took a second wife nothing occurred which one might be able to regard as a wedding ceremony or feast. The first wife continues to occupy the place of honour. The others have to rank under her, a fact which frequently leads to quarrels. The man has to spend each night in rotation in the hut of one of his wives. He has no hut of his own. Should any of his wives be suckling her infant, he has to avoid her until the child is weaned. It is regarded as immoral to spend the night in a woman's hut until three years after the birth of her living child.

The Christian rule of monogamy has become effective amongst almost the whole of the Berg Damara people. There is, of course, no lack of open or secret attempts to carry on the old custom of polygamy. The women themselves are the strongest supporters of monogamy, as they instinctively realise that polygamy degrades the woman. Not infrequently the man's infidelity is the reason given by a woman for a

separation from her husband, in which case she returns to her relations.

14. The Berg Damaras frequently attain a ripe old age. The hair only turns grey or white at an advanced age. When the old man has property in the shape of a small flock of goats or some cows, he enjoys great esteem to his death, but should he have no property, he is soon regarded as an unwelcome encumbrance. The lot of old women, who are no longer able to collect *veldkos* and are useless for any work whatsoever, is particularly sad. Food is quietly withheld from them and within a few weeks they are dead. This starving of the aged persists to this very day. It is in no wise considered an act of brutality, not even when children allow their own mother to starve to death. I have myself witnessed such a tragedy; my reproaches found no responsive chord and my presents towards the support of the old person were retained by the children. Even the aged one considered this lot to be perfectly in order. Whosoever can no longer live his normal life and provide for himself, is allowed to die. In this respect Christianity has achieved tremendous reforms.

15. The corpse is buried according to old custom, trussed up with thongs in a squatting posture and covered with a sleeping-skin. The grave is dug in the lonely veld and has a depth of 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres and it is covered with heavy stones. The grave is round in shape and on the western side it contains a niche, in which the corpse is placed in a lying or sitting position with the face towards the east. Funeral rites are observed to a very limited extent. As soon as the person ceases to breathe the news is spread and all the elderly women assemble for the death chant in the hut of the deceased. An old woman who knows the old chants, sings the various stanzas of the song adapted to apply to the present case and relating the whole life of the hunter or the veld-gatherer. At each interval the chorus emits a long-drawn wail and tears flow. The death chant continues until the burial of the corpse, which frequently takes place on the same day but at which only the men attend.

16. The dead are treated with great distrust. It is said of them that they are able to return under some circumstances and that they can then take with them some beloved or hated person. For this reason it is sought to prevent the resurrection and return of the dead by tying up the corpse and covering the grave with stones. Moreover the places where the deceased lay or which were well-known to him, have to be avoided. Henceforth his hut stands empty and if possible, the entire village is moved, in order to escape the returning dead. If the erection of the house cost so much labour that it is not readily left unoccupied, then at least the doorway is closed and a new one made on another side. It also happens that a dying person is moved out of the hut to

a leaf-hut outside the village, in order that the house may be spared. The departed spirits first visit the spot where their bodies last lay. For the rest the soul of the dead is thought to be living in the grave as well as dwelling in the Berg Damara heaven. These conflicting views are not considered to be contradictory. Details will be discussed in the chapter dealing with religion.

V. Livelihood and Property.

1. The possessions of a Berg Damara were extremely few in former times. First of all there were his clothes. The clothes of a man are soon described. About his loins he wears a narrow belt of hartebees or koedoe skin. The soft skin of a small buck is slipped under this belt in front and forms an apron. At the back a larger skin is similarly attached. The old Berg Damara knew no other clothes.

A small skin bag forms portion of his equipment. It is carried under the left arm and depends from a strap which passes over the left shoulder. In this bag he carries all the implements which he may at any time require—a knife, an awl for boring through hard articles, a pipe, carved from a hollow bone or from sandstone, a tinder box and a flint, etc.

Now-a-days almost all Berg Damaras living in permanent settlements have taken to European clothing and as everyone is able to acquire new articles of daily use with ease, the leather bag has fallen into desuetude, as also have the belt and apron, and as the Berg Damara's requirements increase, so the pockets of his suit are filled with things previously unknown to him.

2. The woman also wears a front and back apron of prepared leather. These aprons are not attached to a belt, but to thin leather thongs worn around the loins. They are larger than the aprons of the men. The feminine costume is completed by a large, prepared skin cloak, which is usually worn on the right shoulder and gathered under the left arm. Worn in this manner the portion under the arm forms a bag, which is used for the carriage of the *veldkos* which has been gathered and for other articles.

3. The men, as well as the women, wear sandals. In former days these were, where possible, made of giraffe skin, but any other hard leather serves the purpose equally well. These sandals protrude a little in front and behind. They are attached to the heel by a strap. A second strap is passed through a hole in the front of the sandal and then taken between the big toe and the next and then tied to the heel-strap above the foot, so that the sandal cannot fall off.

4. In the cold season the costume of the men is amplified by the addition of a cap, made from the skin of a jackal or a Delalandes fox. Usually the skin of the animal's skull is retained on the cap, thereby lending it a fantastic appearance.

5. Beyond an earring made of steel or copper wire, men rarely wear rings. Women on the other hand, are all the more lavishly decorated with them. Rings of leather, steel wire, copper or brass are frequently used. Beads, obtained by barter, are strung to form very pretty necklaces and bracelets. The most elegant ornament, both in the past and present, consists of long strings of beads, made of pieces of ostrich shell, which have been pierced, strung on sinew, smeared with fat and cut and rounded with a suitable stone on some smooth surface. The more distinguished the woman the more ostrich shell strings does she wear, some of them around her neck and now and then also around her body.

6. Amongst their further possessions are the implements which are kept in the hut. These consist of wooden buckets and bowls, axes, either made by the Berg Damara himself or purchased, knives, and the indispensable mortar in which the food is crushed. To these must be added the hunter's equipment, which consists of bow, arrows, a quiver made of leather and an iron spear.

Now-a-days many European articles are met with and their nature and number is in accordance with the civilisation, income and requirements of the owner. Many a woman has achieved the possession of a sewing machine, while there are some men who are the proud possessors of typewriters. There are many families who satisfy their musical inclinations by the use of a gramophone. In every hut there is some musical instrument, ranging from the simple hunting bow to the fiddle and the harmonium.

7. Goats and cattle are esteemed by the Berg Damaras as the most valuable property. As he finds the care of cattle too laborious, however, he prefers to raise goats. It has not yet been ascertained where the Berg Damaras first obtained goats. In view of the fact that he had once been the herd and servant of the Hottentots, one would think that he would have acquired fat-tailed sheep. This has, however, not been the case. Probably the areas inhabited by free Berg Damaras were not suited for sheep farming. The word which he uses for goat—*birin*—indicates Bechuana origin. The word, which is applied to the Bechuanas, who are thus regarded by the Berg Damaras as goat-owners. The numerous goats of the Bechuanas seem likewise to have made an impression of good fortune and happiness on the Korana Hottentots, for the word *birin* denotes happiness in their language. It is not improbable, therefore, that the Berg Damaras obtained their goats from the Bechuanas. Little attention is paid to the care of these animals. By day they are allowed to wander as they please. It is only in the morning that they are attended to when they require to be milked and in the evening they are brought in from the veld and milked again. The lambs are kept in the vicinity of the huts. It must not,

however, be thought that every Berg Damara strives to be the owner of a flock of goats; most of those living in the hills own no livestock whatsoever and many of those employed in the settlements do not keep goats either.

8. The Berg Damaras of the veld, *i.e.*, those who are still untouched by European influence and live according to the manner of their fathers, subsist on the wild fruits of the veld and the spoils of the chase.

Although the man also occupies himself with the collection of *veldkos*, it is the woman's primary task to provide the family therewith. There are more than a hundred varieties of *veldkos*. Berries, many bulbs, in short, everything that is edible, is collected by the diligent gatherer and taken to the hut. She understands the art of maintaining a variety of diet. The woman will never strip a bush of all its fruit, even if it is plentiful; she will only take as much as is needed, for experience has taught her that a one-sided diet is detrimental to health. She gathers some of each available sort of *veldkos* and leaves the rest for some other day. In the early hours of the morning she goes to the veld accompanied by her companions. Her equipment consists of the mantle, which she has thrown over her shoulder and in which she carries the *veldkos*. In case of rain the mantle also serves as a protection and in cold nights it serves as a rug. In her hand she carries a stick, about two to three feet in length and of hard wood. The stick is pointed at one end and the point has been hardened in the fire. Since it is no easy matter for people to whom iron is unknown to make such a stick, I made enquiries regarding the old manner of making this indispensable implement and was told that in former times, when only tools and knives of stone were available, sticks were sharpened by being filed to a point on some suitable stone. The gatherer reveals extraordinary skill in the loosening of the soil with the aid of the stick and the removal of the loosened soil and the bulbs with the left hand. The bulbs so collected are placed in the skin mantle.

8A. Nor is the hunter's task less difficult. He either goes hunting by himself or he arranges a drive in company with his friends—in the first place with those who were initiated at the same time with him. The game belongs to him whose first arrow struck home, not to the one who killed the animal. When large game is killed, custom prescribes that the hunters, upon their return to the village, drag it past all the huts of the village and then lay it down in the centre of the village at the holy fire, where it is divided—the men who are entitled to a seat at the holy fire receiving special accommodation.

9. The honey of wild bees is particularly relished. A Berg Damara will risk any trouble and any danger to obtain honey, whether it is to be found in hollow trees or in narrow

caves or holes in the ground. He pays attention to the flight of the bees, listens for the call of the honey bird and spies out the hidden hive, which he tests by means of a specially designed hook, to ascertain whether there is honey in the combs. If he finds that there is not yet sufficient honey in the hive, he carefully marks its locality as his personal property by placing a stone in the hole in the tree or by planting a branch next to the earth hole. He then patiently awaits the time when he may appropriate the honey. The honey-comb is either chewed or laid in water and pressed by hand, whereupon the water is taken as a lemonade. Not infrequently and when honey is plentiful, it is used for the brewing of an intoxicating honey beer.

10. At the end of the rainy season, about the month of April, when the veld onions are ripe and berries can be gathered, when the bulbs are edible and the game is fat, there is no lack of food. It is for this reason that the Berg Damara places the commencement of his year in this season. During the rainy season, however, his mode of living undergoes a radical change, for game is very difficult to get hold of during this season. There is open water everywhere in the veld and the game does not need to remain in the vicinity of the few waterholes. The grass begins to shoot; trees are in leaf and hide the game from his searching eyes. On the other hand the berries have either all been harvested or have become too old, the bulbs have absorbed too much water and are inedible. The Berg Damara has to search for other means of subsistence. Kind nature, however, provides for him, for the termites commence to swarm as soon as the rainy season sets in. Like spring water the flying termites pour from their nests on warm and calm evenings and they are harvested with the aid of fire and carried to the villages in bags. The termites are then dried, pounded and eaten as porridge. It is apparent that they are nourishing food. The stores of a certain ant, which gathers large quantities of grass seed in its subterranean storage chambers as a provision for the rainy season, are also attacked. When rain reaches a portion of such stores, the ants carry the moist seeds to the surface in order to dry them in the sun and thereby reveal the location of their stores to the Berg Damara, who digs into the ground at such spots. The stores of the ants are removed by the bucket, roasted and eaten.

11. Another article of consumption, frequently obtainable in great quantities, consists of stamped locusts. These locusts travel in large swarms and descend at night. In the cool nights they grow stiff and are easily gathered with the aid of fire. They are also roasted and then stored. A porridge is prepared by the addition of water and provides a nourishing meal of a sour taste.

12. The meal is prepared by roasting large pieces of meat and bulbs, as well as lizards, mice and birds in hot ashes or by boiling them in water, without the addition of salt. In modern times the iron pot has been added to the list of household utensils. Nevertheless the old-fashioned home-made pot, with a pointed bottom, narrow neck and wide belly, very much like an urn in shape, is still in use. These pots are made of fine clay by turning small pieces by hand and building up the shape by placing these pieces upon one another, then smoothing them down until the vessel is completed. It is then dried in the shade and hardened in a fire.

VI. Religion and Superstitions.

1. In view of the fact that in former days most Berg Damaras lived in subservience and were treated as serfs by the Hottentots, the Hereros and even the Bushmen, it can easily be understood that their own old traditions have been largely lost. The Berg Damara of Namaqualand took over the religious views of the Hottentots. Those who lived amongst the Hereros took from the views and customs of the Hereros all that seemed to them suitable and useful. Although one was convinced that the Berg Damaras possessed their own religion in olden days, the belief nevertheless persisted that all the old religious traditions had been thrown overboard in exchange for foreign beliefs.

Even the missionaries who had laboured for decades amongst the Berg Damaras, it is true, knew of certain superstitious customs which were peculiar to the Berg Damaras, but they met with no religion of their own. This view was well-founded in view of the existing state of things.

In the Otavi Highlands, however, dwelt a number of sibs, with whom it is very difficult to come into touch and who have lived as a free people in the hills. These people have faithfully retained old traditions and portions of such customs as they have retained could also be traced among the other Berg Damaras of Hereroland and Namaqualand, so that we are in a position to describe the old religion of the Berg Damaras.

2. The highest divinity of the Berg Damara dwells in heaven and is known as //Gamab. Since the stem of this word is identical with the word //gami, *i.e.*, water, and in view of some supporting legends and peculiar customs, it may be assumed that //Gamab was originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains.

3. //Gamab is not the deity of creation, for the Berg Damara does not believe that the world had a beginning and that it was created. It is sufficient for him if the rainy season sets in fairly regularly every year, that his hunting grounds teem with game and that his *veldkos* grows afresh and ripens. This annual renewal of the larders of nature he regards as the work of //Gamab. Without //Gamab there

is no game on the veld and without //Gamab the berries and bulbs do not flourish. In the same manner it is //Gamab who opens the eyes of the hunter that he may see the game and who shows the women the places where there is plenty of *veldkos*.

4. In the same way that //Gamab provides for the livelihood of all living beings and thus is the maintainer of life, so he is also the Lord of Death. It is his prerogative to direct his sharp and deadly arrow from his heavenly seat at the bodies of men so that they take sick and die. Whoever feels in him the arrow of //Gamab loses heart and takes no more food; he is abandoned by his relatives and is no longer cared for, since, after all, any care is now useless. Its only consequence might be that //Gamab might regard any attempt at saving a doomed life as defiance towards him. The apathy even of near relatives which is so often apparent in cases of severe sickness must be ascribed to this religious motive.

5. When the last breath passes and the heart stands still, the soul leaves the body and departs through the open door of the house. Before it, it finds a broad road which it takes and which leads to //Gamab's village. For //Gamab gathers about him the souls of the departed. It is impossible to miss this road, though a narrow road, whose destination is not known, branches off from it. There is one danger for which one must be on the watch; at a certain spot on the road there is, namely, a precipice. Looking over it, one sees a gleam and glow far down as of a tremendous fire. The careless one will fall over the precipice and is hopelessly lost. Carelessness alone suffices for the destruction of the soul. There is no belief that the wicked perish in this manner or that the good reach their goal. //Gamab is no moral personality. He is the centre about whom all deceased Berg Damaras, the good as well as the wicked, gather. Whoever approaches the vicinity of the village is met by some spirits who lead him into the village.

7. //Gamab's village is laid out in the same manner as the Berg Damara villages of this earth. Small huts stand in a large circle and in these huts lie the bones of the deceased. They are the shallow, stone-covered, round graves. The Berg Damara finds no difficulty in believing that the graves of the dead are in the bush on earth and at the same time in the Berg Damara heaven. In the centre of the village stands a large, shady fig tree and underneath it burns the holy fire. //Gamab, the elder of the village, sits at this fire or rests in his hut. In their trances the witch-doctors have seen him thus. The other elders, who once dwelt on earth, also sit at the holy fire. Amongst them the newcomer takes his place. The first kindness which is accorded him is the permission to drink from a full bowl of liquid fat. The rest

life in the heavenly village is the same as that of the free Berg Damara on earth. Hunting and the seeking of *veldkos* continue in the same way as on earth. Only the veld brings forth more fruit and the hunt is more successful. It is only because of the plenitude of *veldkos* in heaven that there is *veldkos* on earth and game exists on earth only because there is so much in the other world. There is a close connection in this respect in the mind of the Berg Damara.

8. Moreover the elders at the holy fire have a right to a particular food. This consists of the flesh of the deceased, which is consumed by them. It is for this reason that later one finds only the bones and not the flesh of the deceased. The eyes, however, may not be eaten. //Gamab decorates the heavens with them. On still nights they shine down upon the earth from heaven in the shape of stars. According to these views life is regarded as on a higher plane after death, for there is no lack of food. Otherwise it differs in no wise from life on earth and it is not a nobler existence. The following views prove this.

9. The elders at the holy fire consider human flesh as a particular delicacy. When there is lack thereof //Gamab is asked to take his bow and arrow and to cause the death of dwellers on earth. He is not always willing to do so and in such a case they try to help themselves. In mysterious manner they succeed in introducing small stones, thorns, small knives, scorpions, small snakes and other articles into the bodies of people. These act as the causes of sickness and if they are not timeously removed they cause death.

In case of sickness, it is thus of importance to ascertain with all speed where the cause of the sickness may be sought; whether //Gamab's arrow has struck the ailing one, or whether the elders of his village have been interfering. The augur of the village has to decide this question. In former days he used to stroke the left hand and forearm with the side of his right palm. Certain points signify the affirmative and others the negative. If the right hand is arrested in its motion as by a magical power, so that the stroking is interrupted and cannot be continued even if force is used, the riddle has been solved. If the hand has been stopped at the affirmative spot in response to the query: "Has //Gamab's arrow caused the sickness"? then one knows that there is no hope for the ailing person and that no assistance may be given him, for no one dare resist //Gamab.

But if the question was: "Have the elders caused the sickness"? and this question was replied to by the stopping of the hand at the affirmative point, then assistance may be sought. The augur is also known as /Ku-aob, *i.e.*, the trembler, since he makes every exertion to move the hand forward, when it is arrested, and when he does not succeed he trembles all over.

The same determination is carried out by the initiated with the aid of two small hairy pieces of skin, which have the shape of sandals. When the question is put, these two rags are thrown upon the ground, and their position in relation to one another indicates the reply. This custom, however, seems to have been initiated from the Hottentots. Others again use three or four beads made of iron wire. These are taken in the left hand after the lines between the fingers, which are held close to one another, have been allotted certain replies. If the beads move in any of these lines, the reply can be gathered from this circumstance. This custom has obviously been borrowed from the Hereros; the trembler, on the other hand, can be regarded as the original solver of Berg Damara secrets.

10. As soon as it has been found that the old ones of //Gamab's village have the brazen desire to kill some one, the witch-doctor is sent for. Their number is great. While the trembler and his modern imitators pass their art from father to son, who practises the art upon the death of the father, the witch-doctor has to be authorised and empowered by //Gamab himself, since it is //Gamab who has given him to the Berg Damaras as a help against the interference of the old ones. When the witch-doctor receives his call, he passes some days as if out of his mind. He does not eat, nor drink, speaks not and gives peculiar replies, and by his whole conduct reveals that something peculiar is passing within him. Suddenly he jumps up to hide in the bush. After a considerable time he returns from the veld wholly naked. Not infrequently his face is covered with blood. //Gamab has called him to be the intermediary between him and mankind. The spirits, whose ways he will henceforth hinder, have not favoured this. They attempted to overpower him when they found him alone in the veld, they tore his clothes from him and beat him until he bled. Henceforth he may pray, *i.e.*, speak to //Gamab, which an ordinary Berg Damara may not do. Without any danger to his life he may take up the struggle with the departed spirits and may cheat them of their victims.

11. When the witch-doctor is called to attend a sick person, a meal of goat flesh or game must be prepared for him. If the sick one is a man, all the men partake of this meal. If it is a woman, only the women may take part in the feast. In both instances, the witch-doctor is entitled to the lion's share. When he has received other presents—//Gamab does not wish his servant to want—he starts his work. This he does by stroking the painful portion of the body in such a manner as to collect all the pain in one spot. To this spot he applies his mouth and sucks. This does not go on without interruptions. In the intervals he holds converse with //Gamab: "You have entrusted this office to me. I did

Bergdama wedding.

Bergdama family.

Bergdama family.

Bergdama girls.

not wish it, but you called me and I had to obey. Do not leave me in the lurch. Let me find the cause of the sickness, let me pull it forth. Let the sick become hale again, for he is your child and has not done anything against you. It is only the old ones who seek his doom." Suddenly he shows by violent movements that the cure has succeeded. From his mouth he takes the article which had entered the body. In triumph he shows it to the onlookers. No one thinks to look for the opening out of which the article came. It suffices that it is there. Any doubt in the skill of the man would make matters worse. Any doubting talk concerning the possibility could be heard by the witch-doctor at a distance of miles in consequence of the instruction which he has given certain persons. The article which has been sucked forth is simply thrown away after it has gone the round of the audience. It may happen, however, that some living being had taken refuge in the patient's body. If this is the case, *i.e.*, if a miniature leopard or lion, for instance, has been sucked forth, the witch-doctor asks for a tortoise shell, if he has not himself got one. Into this shell, the opening of which he closes with his hand, he spits upon the dangerous animal and then closes the shell with his hand, so that it shall not escape. He then asks one of the audience to place a glowing coal into the shell. He removes his hand just enough to admit the coal and then places it over the shell again, which he shakes with its dual contents—the living and the glowing—until the fire has done its work and killed the animal. With a triumphant shout he raises the shell above his head and exclaims: " Take, ye old ones, what came from you! //Gamab helped, he was on my side!" Thereupon he hands the shell, which is empty excepting for the dying coal, to the audience to convince them that the cause of the sickness has been rendered wholly innocuous, for it is not only burnt and killed but his powerful exorcism has even forced the old ones to take back the dead animal.

12. While the witch-doctor is at work, he is in a particular state of proximity to the deity. In this state a variety of questions may be put to him and will be replied to by him. While in this state, he will also speak concerning the actions of //Gamab and his plans for the future, if there is a religiously inclined audience, and he will give information regarding life hereafter and impending good or bad fortune. Since his dicta are esteemed as revelations, it is clear that he can contribute to the extension of religious knowledge and views. The religion of the Berg Damara is thus never something exclusive. New revelations may be made every time the witch-doctor is in a trance. It is due to this fact that amongst those Berg Damaras, both of the south and the north, who have not adopted christianity, there is such a variety of views concerning //Gamab and his works and concerning the life and death of mankind.

13. While the old ones at the holy fire lead a self-seeking life, which consists in the enjoyment of everything offered by //Gamab's village or obtainable by themselves in an unjust manner, the souls of departed women perform a duty for the benefit of all. For children also die, either according to the wishes of //Gamab or because of the treachery of the old ones. The souls of these children are delivered to the women in the other world to be educated. They perform this duty with great devotion. It may occur, however, that the children have all attained mature years and that the women consequently are without their proper work to satisfy their maternal instincts. In such cases, the departed women importune //Gamab with their prayers until he arranges an epidemic of child deaths on earth. This is the only way in which it can be explained that at certain times child diseases break out, which take away so many young lives. And this too is the explanation for the resignation with which the Berg Damara mother, who is very affectionate towards her children, accepts the death of her child without making any particular exertions to save the young life. It is //Gamab who is the cause of such a death and to his will all must bow.

14. A departed spirit who has safely reached //Gamab's village without falling into the threatening abyss, may at times feel lonely in the celestial village. It can be understood that a man or woman upon arrival finds no friends with whom he or she can feel happy. In such a case //Gamab permits the departed spirit to return to his worldly home to fetch himself a companion. This danger exists in the case of every death-bed. For this reason it is advisable, whenever possible, to leave the village immediately after the death has taken place, and to build the village in some other place, so that the spirit, in search of company, cannot find his or her former friends again. If it is not possible to move the village, as is the case under the altered conditions of present day life, other means are resorted to to evade the death-dealing hand of relatives. The dying person, as has already been mentioned, is carried into a bare leaf shelter at a distance from the hut and is left to spend his or her last days and hours there. Should the spirit return to this place, he will find it unoccupied. Another precaution is to leave him in the hut but to close the old doorway, when death approaches, and to make a new opening in the side of the hut. The soul will leave by this opening and the corpse is also dragged out through it. When this has happened the new opening is closed and a new doorway is made also at some other place. If the spirit returns by the way which he departed, he loses his bearings and the occupants are secured against him. It must not be overlooked that the eyes of the dead shine down from the heavens as stars and

that in consequence the spirits must be regarded as being blind.

15. Primitive as the religious views of the Berg Damara may be, it cannot be denied that they provide him with a coherent idea of the world and solve the problem of existence in a manner intelligent to him. His cosmic views are more or less as follows: There was always a world. It is unthinkable that there should ever have been a time when there was none. Above the world and all its phenomena is //Gamab who lives beyond the stars. The spirits of the deceased are with him. Whatever exists in this celestial world in the nature of things and gifts, is the higher cause of their existence on earth. The rainy season, in particular, is a gift from above. And what the rain causes to grow in the shape of edible fruits of the veld is a gift from //Gamab. The evils that persist on earth are not due to //Gamab, but are to be ascribed to the passions and malice of the departed spirits. It is the mission of the "trembler", or augur to reveal their works but it is only the witch-doctor who is able to counter them since he has been appointed and qualified as his henchman by //Gamab.

16. Parallel to this line of thought and in part closely allied to it, is another which sees nature filled with evil spirits, against whom one may protect oneself with the aid of certain roots, talismans, portions of the carcases of animals, powerful exorcisms, and so forth. In many cases the perspiration of a male person, the urine of an elder, etc., are used as evil-resisting remedies, without the person using them knowing who the person may be who might cause evil. One custom seems to have been borrowed from the Hereros. In case of particular stress, the whole village will go to the grave of a deceased headman and will place a sacrifice in the shape of a goat upon the grave and invoke the assistance of the deceased; in the first portion of the prayer he is given the blame for the bad fortune and is reproached for the injustice of his conduct. This ceremony may even be performed in secret. Other sacrifices, water, fat, pieces of meat, are also taken to such a grave in the hope of better fortune. For the rest, however, the grave is avoided; one makes a detour to miss it; one does not point with the forefinger at a place where a deceased has found his last resting place, for fear of losing the finger.

Space is insufficient to recite all the other superstitious views which persist with regard to the things which foresay bad fortune or secret threats, and with regard to innocent actions which may cause sickness and death.

17. Allied to the belief in spirits is the belief in ghosts. Whereas the spirits do not lose their human shape, the ghosts prefer to wander about in the shape of animals. They can be distinguished from other animals by the fact that they

have no shadow. Merely to look upon one has a harmful effect. The hairs of the ghost enter the body of the careless one who has seen him and will kill him unless he succeeds in purging himself with the aid of herbs or other means, so that the hairs may leave his body.

Fear and helplessness towards the vicissitudes of life make up the deepest spiritual state of the Berg Damara. He knows no hope, feels no confidence towards the mighty being of whose existence his religion tells him. He must make his own life and in distress he must take care that hostile powers and forces are timeously eliminated.

VII. The Holy Fire.

1. The first circle of religious ideas are grouped around the personality of //Gamab, the second around the harmful forces, of whose nature only vague conceptions exist. But there is a third circle of religious ideas, whose centre is the holy fire. It is at the same time the incorporation and the visible form of the thoughts which compose the first and second circles.

2. The holy fire is the centre of the village. It burns near the village tree. Wherever possible the village is laid out where there is a shady tree. When such a tree has been selected a cut is made in its bark and the heart blood of some game is poured into the cut. In this manner the tree is consecrated as the village tree. On its eastern side the holy fire will burn in future. There the elders will sit and cook those portions of big game meat, to which they alone are entitled. There they will also sit in council. In order to obtain a seat at the holy fire, the young man has to submit to his initiation as a hunter three times at intervals of a year each. The children may not play at the holy fire. The Berg Damara, who usually brings up his children without corporal punishment, half-kills his child if it has played at this place or climbed up the village tree, maybe to rob birds' nests. Not only is this chastisement intended as a deterrent for the future, but the child must be chastised by the parental hand in such a way that the feared hand of unknown avengers need not punish the desecration.

3. The life of free Berg Damaras necessitates frequent moving of the village. When the *veldkos* area is exhausted and the chase has become unprofitable, they must settle elsewhere where the prospects of livelihood are more favourable. In doing so it is never omitted to take a burning or glowing piece of wood from the holy fire. It is the office of the great wife to carry this brand at the head of the procession. On the way the camp fire is lighted with it. From the camp fire, a suitable brand is again removed and the procession continues until a new site is selected, when the village fire is lighted with it. At night the great wife takes the glowing coals into

her hut and makes her own small fire with them. During the night she tends the fire by pushing the sticks, which are arranged in the shape of rays, further on to the fire. When the men meet in council, or when the hunters return with big game, which has to be cooked at the holy fire by the elders, it is the great wife who lights the fire under the village tree from the coals which she has kept in her hut. In the absence of such an occasion, the fire may burn for days and weeks in her hut. If any fire in any of the other huts has gone out, a live coal is fetched from the hut of the great wife; in this manner holy fire burns in every hut.

4. Now it may happen that the hunters repeatedly go hunting and return with empty hands and that the eyes of the gatherers do not find the good *veldkos* places and return with but small harvests. This will give rise to the suspicion that the fire is no longer effective and productive of good fortune. As confidently as success in their efforts to find sustenance is expected from //Gamab, it is expected from the holy fire. The suspicion will be that someone has behaved unworthily towards the holy fire. If this can be ascertained, for instance, if someone has eaten too hastily at the holy fire, or omitted to cut off the pieces of meat with a knife in front of his lips but gulped it down or cut it up before eating it, then it is advisable to consult the witch-doctor or the augur as to what steps should be taken to avoid threatening disaster. It is also well to put out the holy fire and to light a new one.

5. A new holy fire may only be started when all other fires have been put out. All the villagers must then leave the village, with the exception of the head of the village and his assistant, whom he has appointed from amongst his relatives as his chief counsellor, as the taster of all food and as his right hand on all important occasions. A piece of wood is then clutched between the feet, and in a small depression in this piece of wood a stick of the thickness of a finger, pointed at one end, is inserted. The vertical stick is twirled rapidly between the palms by the two men in turns until a spark is caused which is caught in very fine grass and blown into flame. While the stick is being twirled old magic formulas are recited, by which the game of the veld is individually called upon to come to the men's feast at the holy fire. When the fire is burning, then only may the other villagers return to the village and make fresh fires in their huts.

6. In lighting the holy fire anew, it is of importance that the two elders, the village headman as well as his assistant, should grate certain roots into it. It is also useful if both smoke a pipe of wild hemp after they have completed their task and if they blow the smoke in a circle about them. The scraping of powerful roots into the fire is often repeated when the young men are out hunting. One may state that the Berg Damara worships the holy fire with the same respect which

the negroes of the interior of Africa pay to their fetishes or idols.

7. It has not yet been ascertained if the holy fire is an original institution of the Berg Damaras. One would be inclined to assume that it was taken over from the Hereros, for these, too, possess a holy fire and certain customs in regard to its care are common to both peoples. The Hottentots, whose serfs the Berg Damaras must have been for centuries, do not possess such a fire. But in view of the fact that the Berg Damaras only came into touch with the Hereros in comparatively recent times, and most remarkably those dwelling among the Hereros do not light the holy fire which is only found amongst those who spend their existence far from the Hereros in the inaccessible hills, reasonable doubt arises as to the idea of a borrowing of this rite. Moreover, if the fire of the Berg Damaras constitutes an imitation of the Herero fire, one would at least expect a greater coincidence in the care thereof. Some of the peculiar customs of the Berg Damaras, which are not met with among the Hereros, are the following: The holy fire may not be called by its name "soxa-fairs," it may only be referred to as the "red fire." One is not allowed to point one's finger at it, but may only do so with the pursed lips. If several pots are placed upon the hot coals they must be so placed as not to touch one another. Jealous grumblings about too small a portion of meat may not under any circumstances be heard at the holy fire. What is consumed there must be eaten with a degree of solemnity. Choking must be strictly avoided. What drops from the mouth may not be picked up and eaten. When animals are consumed, which have been caught in snares, the sandals have to be removed.

8. Whoever enquires for the headman must couch his question in such form as to ask for the possessor of the holy fire. The head of the village is headman and a person of dignity only because he has the first right to the fire and because he is able to light a new one, should the old one be extinguished. Since the Berg Damaras have no real chieftainship, but only heads of families, this explains the central significance of the holy fire in the life of the sib. For the rest the holy fire and the peculiar customs connected with it may point back to distant days when the hunter ate the flesh of hunted animals uncooked, especially in view of the fact that there is a legend which tells of times when the Berg Damaras did not possess fire and were only able to gain possession of it by theft.

VIII. Laws and Customs.

1. When I commenced, two decades ago, to enquire as to the laws of the Berg Damaras, my questions were not understood even by intelligent Berg Damaras who were well versed

in the lore of their people. "An object, such as a Berg Damara has not anything like a law." Not even the tribal area is regarded as the property of the tribe. All that is claimed is freedom of hunting and of gathering of *veldkos* with which to supply daily wants. It was only through the exertions of the Mission, the accommodation of the Chief of Omaruru and the assistance of the German Government thirty years ago that it was possible to obtain "land" to which they have a certain legal claim for the Berg Damaras, namely, the Okombahe Reserve. Until then landed property was unknown to them. In the same manner the water places of their territory were everybody's free property. Without asking anybody's permission the traveller could water his stock and graze his oxen. Within the territory, which he occupied as a free man, he, however, considered the game to be his property but did not quarrel with the white hunter or the Herero or the Hottentot when they killed his game with their guns. It was only against members of another sib that he took steps, if he found them in his veld. There was no court before which he could bring his complaint with the result that might was right. This almost lawless state can only be explained by the fact that the Berg Damara had not enjoyed freedom for a sufficiently lengthy period to evolve a legal system and by the fact that he did not yet feel firmly enough established in his area to have evolved property rights, and moreover by the fact that at the most ten to thirty persons lived in one community, without ever having produced an actual chieftainship, let alone a union of all Berg Damaras under their own paramount chief.

2. The only rules which may be regarded as having the character of law are those regulating inheritance. Small as the personal possessions may be, there are nevertheless fixed rules according to which they pass from one to another. The rule prescribes that the daughter may inherit from the mother but never from the father, and the son from the father but never from the mother.

If the son has not yet grown up when his father dies, the paternal grandfather administers his inheritance on his behalf. Should the grandfather also be deceased, the father's brothers, commencing with the eldest, act as trustee. The same rule applies in the case of minor daughters. The eldest daughter of the mother is her heir. Her guardian and trustee is, in the first place, the maternal grandmother, then the sisters of the mother, then the wives of the mother's brothers.

3. The child possesses the right to own property from the moment its first ring is placed about its ankle or it receives its first necklace of beads. Not infrequently it happens that parents or relatives give the child a present of a she-goat. It belongs to the child and all its progeny as well. Since the law of inheritance takes no account of the wife, a good

husband provides for her in time by making her a present of some she-goats. These are thereafter not family property but the property of the wife and the progeny belongs to her as well.

4. Pots, axes, knives, other utensils, wooden buckets, bow and arrows, spears and cattle form portions of the deceased estate. Rather oddly the goats are not regarded as included in the estate proper. As a rule they are divided amongst the relatives on the day of the funeral in equal shares, after a goat has been prepared for the funeral feast of the men who dug the grave. Nor do old clothes belong to the estate. They are given to old people. It is dangerous for young people to wear the clothes of a deceased person for he knows these clothes and might easily take the wearer with him into the next world. In the case of old people, who are in any case near death, the risk is not so great.

5. About four to five months after death the inheritance passes to the rightful heir. Custom requires him to make presents to his brothers and sisters out of the estate. There is no right to such presents, but it is rarely that such a division takes place without violent quarrels. One gains the impression that the eldest son, the eldest daughter, are really not considered as the lawful heirs but merely as trustees who have to make the most favourable distribution amongst all.

6. At the distribution of the inheritance the head of the village attends in person in order to enforce order. It is true that the distribution is not made by him, but his person is respected and in many instances his decision is authoritative. He is not the personification of the law, but his authority creates the law.

7. Nor do the Berg Damaras know such a thing as a session of a court. The elders, it is true, consult at the holy fire concerning everything which may contribute to the welfare of the village and discuss all measures which have to be taken to prevent disasters or to deal out punishment. But nothing is known of sessions of a court, instituted to ascertain in common consultation what is right. The question "What is right?" plays a considerably less important rôle in the life of the old Berg Damaras than the query: What is useful and what is not to good advantage?

The nearest approach to a session of court is the council of elders on an occasion when hunters bring a strange Berg Damara into the village, whom they have captured hunting in their hunting grounds. If he belongs to a neighbouring sib of repute, which is strong in men, he is dismissed with a warning. If, however, he is a vagabond who belongs to no sib, the discussion may result in an instruction being given to some young men to take the poacher into the bush and to kill him. The sentence is carried out forthwith.

8. Custom and precaution demand that all valuable property should be marked. The wooden buckets, etc., are branded with a mark, which need not have any particular shape. The game which has been killed in the veld is covered with bushes if it is necessary for the hunter to leave it in order to fetch assistance. Goats and cattle are marked by a cut in the ear, of certain shape and in certain places. The shape and place vary in the case of the various owners. A bee's nest in the veld, whose combs are not yet filled with honey, belongs to the first discoverer. In order to make himself known as the discoverer, a small stone is placed in a crevice of the branch, or a branch into the earth hole.

9. Should the property be stolen, the augur is consulted and the thief, if he confesses his guilt, is required to return the stolen goods but no punishment is imposed. For the rest one takes one's property back whenever one finds it. If, however, it is a case of stolen honey or stolen game, which the hunter has already disposed of, the injured person has no recourse to a court, which could try the thief and punish him. His only remedy is revenge, which, however, is only taken in cases in which a weaker individual with a small following is concerned. If the person is strong and has allies, then refuge is taken to magic, which is exercised in a variety of ways and which the Berg Damara believes to be infallibly fatal even if he has to wait fifty years to see the effect.

10. This form of vengeance, which is necessary in the absence of a regular legal system, is of a different nature to a blood-feud in so far that its execution is not compulsory. A blood-feud, however, is compulsory. When the wife of a man has been killed, the man is compelled to avenge her death. The son avenges his father and the brother avenges his childless brother. The avenger may obtain the assistance of as many friends as are willing to join him. Nor is it necessary that vengeance should be limited to the murderer. Since the loss of a member of the sib is regarded merely as a material loss and since no religious motive plays any rôle in the feud, such as, for instance, that the deceased will not find peace in the grave until he is avenged, it suffices if any member of the murderer's sib is killed. The sib has been weakened by the loss of a life and the feud demands that the murderer's sib should be equally weakened.

11. A blood-feud does not lose effect by prescription. It has occurred that a little girl whose father was murdered before the child knew him, and whose mother died shortly after the murder, was told of the way in which her father had ended his life when she had grown up. She waited until she was married and importuned her husband until he decided upon the execution of the blood-feud.

12. But it is possible to escape the persecution of the avenger by the payment of a fine. The avenger and the murderer must meet and determine the amount of the fine, which may consist of money, goats, game, tobacco, utensils and so forth, either in one payment or in annual instalments. Unintentional homicide is not regarded as murder, and is neither avenged nor is compensation payable.

13. The blood-feud has almost wholly lost its significance and terror since the establishment of an organised Colonial government. As the Berg Damara has no courts amongst his own people, he appeals to the courts of the Administration. Frequently, however, he goes so far as to lodge a complaint if his child, for instance, has suffered some quite unintentional minor injury, which may be self-inflicted, if there was someone in the vicinity who might have prevented the accident with great presence of mind. The complainant cannot understand the courts dismissing such a complaint.

IX. Language and Intellectual Life.

1. It has already been mentioned that the Berg Damaras have forgotten their original language and have adopted the language of the Hottentots. Since they are spiritually not so adaptable as their old masters, it is obvious that they are unable to use the delicate and flexible Nama language with the same elegance. It is on account of this observation that the conclusion was arrived at that the change of language must have been recent, but this is not so. There are old and young Berg Damaras who can use the Nama language as well as any Hottentot. The clumsiness of the Berg Damara dialect merely reveals the clumsy mentality of the people.

2. Another fact which has been regarded as indicating that the change in language is recent, is this, that many Berg Damaras are not able to enunciate the clicks, or do not enunciate some clicks clearly or only hint at them. What has been overlooked in this surmise is that the Berg Damara has a thick tongue, and that it is not a case of imperfect assimilation of a foreign idiom. There are Europeans who learn the Nama language with its clicks in a few years, while there are others, who in spite of all exertion and in spite of the fact that they have achieved considerable success in linguistic research, are nevertheless unable to speak the language after having lived forty years among the Hottentots. In these instances, this, too, was due to organic impediments.

3. If all considerations are not deceptive, the change in language took place many centuries ago, perhaps while the Hottentots were still on their migrations and took with them as their servants the forefathers of the present day Berg Damaras from their original seats in the interior of Africa.

4. It appears that many intellectual products, such as tales, legends, old songs, proverbs, and so forth, have been retained from the days before the change of language took place. The Berg Damaras have numerous splendid proverbs; they have a fine treasury of songs which are chanted to the music of the hunting bow. The old death chants are most affecting and they depict in glowing colours the life of the hunter, the gatherer or the deceased child. Their dancing songs reveal a remarkable height of mental creativeness and are often powerful and dramatic. Besides the animal fables which they have borrowed from the Hottentots, they possess their own legends and fables, which are unknown to the Hottentots.

5. As an example of the poetic skill of the Berg Damaras, I attach a literal translation of a song of a Berg Damara, who lived in the vicinity of Grootfontein. His hunting grounds passed into the possession of a farmer and as the native did not wish to become a farm labourer, he had to emigrate. The song was composed about 25 years ago:

'My hunting grounds have become even like unto a waterless land, since he who has settled here deals with me in such imperious manner.
Know ye not, ye women, of a land to which we may go?
A waterless land is this where I am driven away from the water!
Know ye not, ye women, of a fount to which now we may wander?
I shudder at the hard word for I hear it again and again.
Ye say: "None we have seen!"
'Tis well, I shall go forth and search.

X. Modern Times and Civilization.

1. Whoever speaks to the *Hottentots* of olden and modern times will find that in spite of their carefully worded replies and their praise of the things which modern times have given them, they hold the old days of freedom and absence of control to have been more beautiful. They are, it is true, too easy-going consciously to mourn the days that have passed. The Hottentot lives for the present day and it is not worth while sacrificing strength and exertion for what cannot be altered.

He who enters into comparisons of the past and the present with a *Herero* will either find himself with a silent dissatisfied man, or the native will say without reserve that present day conditions do not suit him. He would surrender all the achievements of culture, science and art with the greatest readiness if this would enable him to return to the

old life of his fathers. He thinks little of the dangers of this old life of " freedom," of the insecurity of his possessions, and any other disadvantage that might be brought to his recollection. The ancient has a peculiar nimbus in his estimation, even those things connected with the ancient, which were once unbearable. In his opinion there is nothing good in modernity and he is a happy man who is able to escape from things modern.

Whoever discusses this same subject with a *Berg Damara* will be surprised by an altogether new and astonishing viewpoint. The great changes, which have been brought about by the colonial era in South West have taken nothing from the Berg Damara, he has only gained by and during it. Once he possessed no land but now, at least, he has some reserves, to which he can retire in old age and live on his herds. Formerly he was not safe on a single day of his life but nowadays a strong Government takes his part when he has a justifiable complaint. Once a national community was something unknown to him, but to-day thousands of Berg Damaras are united in Christian communities, at whose head there is not only a white missionary, but also the elders of the congregation, chosen from his own people, who hold counsel in regard to the welfare of their people, and in many matters, in which the Hereros were formerly assisted by their chief, the elders assist the missionary with advice and help. Formerly he was the serf of anyone who could lay hands on him and his serfdom was heavy. He had to do his master's work, and yet while herding his stock had to seek his own food in the veld and would consider himself fortunate if he was allowed a bucket of sour milk at the fire at night. Only in exceptional cases did the serf receive a wage, and then only when he had distinguished himself by care and loyalty. His freedom was only attainable by flight, but where was he to fly when he no longer had any relations? To-day he can work where he pleases and has the right of moving from place to place. Moreover his labour is paid.

It was not an accident that the Berg Damaras did not rise in the great rebellion of 1904-1907. The past was still too fresh in their memories with its insecurity of life and property and they are well aware that in these days they are regarded as human beings among human beings and not as "baboons" as the Hereros and Hottentots did in bygone days.

One would hardly believe that the Berg Damaras of the hills, who are still in the stone age state and have remained untouched by modern times, are of the same people as those Berg Damaras who have settled in the settlements and on the farms as labourers. Every year the number of those increases who go out to work, who join the Christian congregation and send their children to the Berg Damara schools, where they are instructed by Berg Damara teachers.

Modern apparel has taken the place of the sparse clothing of old. Their huts have improved and frequently one finds clean and attractive buildings constructed of all possible material which can be used for the purpose.

Where the old heathen views have been exchanged for the Christian religion, neither the augur nor the witch-doctor find scope for their activities any longer; in cases of illness the European doctor or the missionary is consulted. The fear of a hospital, however, still fills him, for he does not care to be where death so often enters.

The holy fire burns only in distant regions. Since the game laws of the country have superseded his hunting rights, he can only enjoy the hunt as a forbidden pastime. That is something which he does not like. Whenever opportunity offers he still sits his mare and he is always about with his hunting dog. But since his labour provides him with a livelihood, he does not feel this limitation over much.

The collecting of *veldkos* has been forbidden in only a few of the districts and there probably through ignorance of conditions. For what vegetables are to the European in regard to good health, that is *veldkos* to the Berg Damara. When this is withheld from him, he often takes ill of scurvy. For in his employment he may receive a sufficiency of food, but it consists of maize meal without fresh vegetables. His means do not enable him to purchase vegetables, and if he did have the means he would not do so as they are strange to him and he has not acquired the taste for them. He always longs for the *veldkos* which he once gathered as a child and regards as a delicacy.

Being used to subservience the Berg Damara is happiest when under a firm hand, which rules his daily conduct and nips sudden desires for insubordination and impertinence in the bud.

The art and liberty of brewing a strong intoxicating beer from sugar, meal and other ingredients he misuses to his own detriment and ruins his health thereby, does not achieve possessions, becomes a disgrace to his community and only carries out his duties under protest. In the background wait the augur and the witch-doctor, the bearers of his old, almost forgotten, religion, and instead of gratefully enjoying and applying the freedom which modern times have brought him, he frequently and of his own accord reverts to subservience to his lusts and passions, which often bring him sooner to his ruin than was the case under the domination of the Hereros and Hottentots.

On the whole, however, one may say that the Berg Damara has adapted himself the best to the altered conditions and that he may be regarded as an important economic factor in the cultural development of South West.

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THE BUSHMEN OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

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/nu-//ẽin Bushman.
Gobabis.

Wakeddi Women (Hei //om).
N.W. Ovamboland.

THE BUSHMEN OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

Origin.

Evidence of a widespread primitive civilization is met with in South West Africa as in other parts of Southern Africa. There would appear to be but little reason to doubt that some branch of the Bushman family was originally associated with that civilization and that the Bushmen of to-day are descended from the aboriginal inhabitants of this sub-continent. The place and period of origin of the latter still remain unsolved. By some authorities it is maintained that in the remote past migration proceeded northwards and southwards from Central Africa; by others that a slow movement of the Aurignacians took place from Europe into and across Africa down to the Cape. On this subject Professor Sollas writes as follows: "It would thus appear that mural drawings, paintings or engravings, having many features in common, may be traced from the Dordogne across the Pyrenees into Spain, and beyond the Mediterranean into Morocco, Algeria, Oran and Egypt, over the Sahara, past the Victoria Nyanza, and thence on through Rhodesia, the Transvaal, and Orangia, to the southernmost extremity of Africa.

If, as their unity in subject and treatment suggests, these are all the work of the Bushmen or related tribes, then they afford precisely the kind of evidence which our hypothesis demands, and some of the Aurignacian people have really, as we supposed, passed in a slow migration across the whole of the broad territory which intervenes between Dordogne and the Cape. That the movement was towards the south is shown by the fact that the drawings become increasingly younger as we proceed in that direction. In France they are of Upper Palaeolithic age, in the north of Africa Neolithic, and in the south they are recent. From this again it follows that the migration must have occupied a long interval of time, during which the earth experienced more than one change of climate, and some of the animals which the artists took a special pleasure in depicting, such as the mammoth and the ancient Bubalus, became extinct.

We owe our knowledge of this great migration to a fortunate accident: had the passion for art which possessed the Bushmen been less strong or less enduring, it would probably have remained unsuspected to all time. It would be strange indeed if this were the sole migration of its kind; the chances are that it is but one among others, some of which may not be beyond our power to discover."

Of migration of the Bushmen from elsewhere no mention is made in local native traditions. The Hottentots, Hereros and Ovambos state that on their arrival the Bushmen were found in occupation and that the latter must have been living here ever since the creation of man. The Bushmen likewise believe that their present tribal divisions and distribution have been in existence since the very beginning of things when each tribe had its origin in a "first big Bushman" and a "first big Bushwoman" of its own by whom were handed down to their descendants the practices and customs still peculiar to and the territory still occupied by their respective tribes. Each of the existing tribes with its constituent elements is consequently looked upon as having been "born" in and having been in occupation of the same area from time immemorial. Although claiming descent from the aboriginal race they have lost all knowledge of the arts of painting and engraving. The rock paintings and carvings left by their ancestors are considered to be the works not of man but of the "devil."

The view that the present day Bushmen are composed of the remnants of their race driven back by the advance of stronger invading races from the north and south is not borne out by evidence arising out of recent investigations into the life and customs of this primitive people.

Distribution.

With the exception of a few isolated remnants on the north bank of the Orange River and along the edge of the Namib desert, the Bushmen are confined entirely to the Kalahari along the eastern and north-eastern borders and to the northern portions of the territory which adjoin Ovamboland.

The Bushmen of the Kalahari region consist of three main divisions, each speaking a language of its own, viz.: the */Nu-//ẽin* or */Nu-san* in the south, the *Ngami* Bushmen in the centre and the *Kaukau* Bushmen in the north.

The *//Nu-//ẽin* inhabit those portions of the Gobabis, Gibeon and Aroab districts which lie to the east of the Elephant and Auob rivers. The northern limit of their distribution is formed by a line running roughly from Naunas across Oas to the Elephant's River, crossing the Nosob a short distance below the junction of the Black and White Nosob Rivers.

The *Ngami* Bushmen are composed of a good many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In South West Africa they are represented by only a few groups of the *//Aikwe* tribe. These groups are known as the *Naron* and are distributed along the banks of the Chapman River as far as Oas.

The *Kaukau* Bushmen inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke, including a part of the Kaukauveld and the

Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into the Bechuanaland Protectorate and on the north into Angola. Among them are included the *ǂAukwe* or *ǂAo-//ẽin* in the south between Sandfontein and */Gam*, the *Ssu-ǂgnassi* to the northeast and the *ǂKũng* to the northwest.

Next in importance and numbers to the Bushmen of the Kalahari are the *Hei-//om* living in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan and on the outskirts of Ovamboland in the Grootfontein and Outjo districts. They are generally believed to have resulted from the interbreeding of Hottentots with a now extinct tribe of Bushmen which originally inhabited the greater portion of the present Damaraland and Ovamboland. Their manner of life is still that of Bushmen but, unlike their neighbours of the Kalahari, they have no language of their own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organisation has disappeared almost completely. The groups living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture. In Eastern Ovamboland they are known by the Ovambo as *Ovachwagga;* in northwestern Ovamboland they call themselves *Ovambo* Bushmen but are referred to by the Ukuanyama as *Wakeddi* or *Ovakeddi*. Both *Ovachwagga* and *Ovakeddi*, especially the latter, are being rapidly absorbed into the *Ovambo* through intermarriage. The *Ovachwagga* speak both the Ovambo and Hottentot languages. Among the *Ovakeddi*, on the other hand, only the older members of the various groups still have a knowledge of the latter language. Of the groups along the banks of and immediately to the north of the Ovambo Omuramba very little is known. To the west they are in contact with the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region; to the north with the Ovambo and to the east with *!Kũng* of the Oschimpoloveld or northern Omaheke. The *Hei-//om* of the remaining portions of Grootfontein and Outjo and of the districts of Otjiwarongo and Gobabis are scattered about on farms and are living in close association with Hottentots and Klip Kaffirs with whom they show various degrees of intermixture. In Gobabis there is only a small remnant, known locally also as the *Nama* or *Kakuja* Bushmen on account of the extent to which they have interbred with these races and the neighbouring tribes of the Kalahari.

Of the tribes which were left in Namaqualand during the latter half of the last century only a few individuals have survived. The */Geinin* of the Namib between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//Obanen* of the Huns Mountains, and the */Koma-san* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateau have disappeared completely. The */Huinin* are represented by a few groups at the southern extremity of the */Hũib* plateau and adjacent part of the Namib. The *!Ganin* of the Nauwkloof Mountains have likewise become almost totally extinct.

Population.

The Bushmen are scattered over an area of approximately 60,000 square miles. Of this area at least 50,000 square miles are practically unknown and otherwise uninhabited, being accessible with considerable difficulty only during the rainy season. It is extremely difficult, therefore, to arrive at a reliable conclusion as to their numbers. On a conservative basis they are estimated to number between 2,500 and 3,500, viz.:—

Kaukau Bushmen—	
!Küng	500—800
Ssu-ǂgnassi	200—300
ǂAo-//ẽin	500—600
Ngami Bushmen—	
//Aikwe	50—75
/Nu-//ẽin	200—300
Hei-//om	1,000—1,500
/Huinin and /Geinin	75—100

Physical Characteristics.

With the exception of certain groups who are living in the more inaccessible portions of the Kalahari, most of the Bushmen show various degrees of intermixture with the Hottentots and Bantu. No uniform racial type is consequently met with among them. This fact is not to be wondered at when the various racial influences to which they have been exposed for centuries are taken into consideration. For geographical reasons the Bushmen in certain parts of the Kalahari did not suffer to the same extent from these influences as those who were in the line of migration of the invading races. Roughly speaking three characteristic types may be distinguished among them. The first, in which the Hottentot element would appear to be the dominant one, is seen among the *Hei-//om*, *ǂAo-//ẽin* and *Naron* in the Gobabis district and among the remnants still met with on the borders of Namaqualand. The second type approximates that of the Bantu and is seen particularly among the *Hei-//om* who live on the outskirts of Ovamboland. In the third, still met with only in the Kalahari, bush characteristics are still apparently predominant. As reliable information is not available on this subject, to the investigation of which but little attention has been directed up to the present, further reference to it would not serve any useful purpose.

Social Organisation.

The Family Group.

Each of the language groups into which the Bushmen have been classified consist of several main sub-divisions. Though for the sake of convenience the latter will be referred to as "tribes" in this report, there is no evidence of any tribal

organisation among them. The various so-called tribes bear distinctive names, mostly of Bushmen or Hottentot origin, the significance of which is in most instances no longer known. Judging by the practice which still exists among the Bushmen they are in all probability descriptive either of the territory occupied by certain groups or of some physical or other characteristic of such territory or groups. Each tribe is composed of a number of family groups all of whom claim relationship to each other through a common tribal ancestor. Thus, for example, according to the traditions of the *ǂAo-||ĕin* all the groups constituting that tribe are descended from a "first big *ǂAo-||ĕin* Bushman." A similar belief likewise exists among other tribes. Nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all members of the tribe is met with among them, nor is collective action taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. Each family group forms an independent unit by itself, possessing its own group area and authority over and specific rights within such area only. In relation to other groups it is collectively responsible for the actions of each of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the groups concerned and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. On occasion, however, a weak group will seek and sometimes obtain assistance from a stronger one, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature. The most common causes of inter-group quarrels are trespass, theft and adultery. The ensuing conflicts generally assume the form of a blood feud which is continued until a more or less equal toll of life has been taken by both sides. Women are never killed intentionally during the course of these feuds but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women are made captive and taken in marriage. Further as far as can be ascertained under no circumstances will the victors deprive the vanquished of their territory or occupy such territory lest harm or disaster should overtake them. The more widely separated groups of the tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct personal contact with each other and generally live in such superstitious fear and dread of each other that the members of one will not undertake journeys into the territory of another, even when accompanied by Europeans. The group areas are separated from each other by neutral zones into which nobody will venture except during the course of visits. These zones are usually formed by belts of trees, open flats, water courses, etc. Territorial boundaries are observed in a most scrupulous manner even by closely related groups who are living on the most friendly terms with each other. Each family is inseparably united to its habitat and has a superstitious dread of any locality but its own. The result is that even the members of completely disorganised groups are loth to seek employment outside the boundaries of their ancestral territory.

At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people. The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, by the nearest male relative. Among the *Hei-||om*, on the other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the *Hei-||om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations. When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

In each group area the permanent encampment is situated in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

distribution of the rainfall upon which it is mainly dependent for its food supply.

The Group Fire.

All fire is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft as fire-making is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out. As an illustration of this may be cited the practice as it exists among the *Hei-||om* of the Etosha Pan. When among the latter it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example, after a death has taken place, the whole community take up all their goods and chattels and, led by the *geikhoib* (chief), set off in search for a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*!heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *‡norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-|ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*!ou-ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-|ais* and the women may fetch fire from the *!ou-|ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-|ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the *!ou-|ais*. The *!ou-|ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-|ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the *!heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new *!ou-!ais* kindled by him by means of the

hei-doros. The new *!ou-/ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gãus* (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos. Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gãus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living. Persistent ill-health among the members of the community or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-/ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *≠norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.

The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life.

Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

ǂAo //ein Bushwoman.
Epukiro.

Ao //ein Bushman.
Epukiro.

ǂAo //ẽin Werf.

Naron (//aikwe) Woman in Ceremonial Dress of Ostrich Shell Beadwork.
Sandfontein, Gobabis.

sticks, pipes, etc., and occasionally assist the women in fetching wood and water. The women build the huts, collect veldkos and prepare the food, make the fire and keep it going, gather wood, fetch water and manufacture ostrich eggshell beads for ornaments, etc. The latter are also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Infants and young children accompany their mothers on their daily excursions in search of food until they are old enough to look after themselves. From that time onwards the mothers take practically no share in their education which, in the case of girls, is entrusted entirely to an old woman who lives in the hut with the young girls, and in the case of boys, to their fathers.

Little girls, while still with their mothers, are taught to love and respect the old woman and to seek her company of their own accord. After taking up residence with her they accompany her daily into the veld and thus gradually come to learn from her all the duties which will ultimately devolve upon them. Boys sleep under the tree in the centre of the camp at night or in a hut specially set apart for them. Each morning they accompany their fathers into the veld. At first they are given little bows and wooden arrows with which to amuse themselves. Towards the eighth or ninth year each is provided by his father with a proper bow and three arrows which, however, are not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbuck or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veld craft.

Initiation Ceremonies.

Both boys and girls, on reaching a marriageable age, are subjected to certain ceremonies before being admitted to full membership of the group. These ceremonies vary considerably among the various tribes.

The following is an account of the girls' initiation ceremony as practised among the *Hei-||om* group around the Etosha Pan. As young girls (*ǂkham-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty they are placed in a hut called *ǂkham-khoidi* or *oaxai-khoidi oms* in which they sleep at night. During the daytime they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women. Men, whether married or single, may not enter the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* nor may they speak to the *ǂkham-khoidi*. The latter may, however, speak and be spoken to by the *axarogu*, but only at a distance so that no conversation of an intimate nature is possible without being overheard by the grown-up people. A man may on occasion address a *ǂkham-khois* by saying, "you must grow up so that I may marry you," but she will not reply. When addressed by a man, say, in the veld, she runs away to her

companions saying, " I dare not speak to you." The married women visit the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* and instruct the inmates in various domestic matters, *e.g.*, the way to clean and tidy their huts, to remain quiet when their husbands are cross, to prepare their husbands' food separately from their own, to pick up and beat the kudu skin on returning home in the evening so that the husband does not sleep on the previous day's dirt, etc. They further teach them to gather wood, to make the fire, to take away the ashes and so forth. At the onset of the first menstruation the girl tells her mother or, in case she has no mother, her best friend (*/hosas*), who then reports to one of the married women, not necessarily to the *gei-khois*. She is then isolated in a small round hut which is completely closed in except for a small entrance. It is known as the */hawa-omi* (hut for waiting) and is situated close to the *ǂkham-khoidi oms*. She is required to remain inside the */hawa-omi* and dare not show herself outside. No fire is made in the hut. She is fed by her mother or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman. She is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. No medicine is given to her. Daily applications of *!gũb*, a red powder obtained by pulverising the bark of a tree, and of the roasted and powdered fat-containing seed of the *ǂerob* tree are made to her hair by the attendant. She may be given veldkos, but is not allowed to partake of meat. No man, not even the girl's father, may pass close to the */hawa-omi* or attempt to speak to her. She remains in the */hawa-omi* as long as the flow lasts. When it has ceased she informs her mother or the woman who has been attending her. The latter tells the other married women and they all prepare to dance the */hawa-ǂnab* (menstruation dance). This dance takes place during the day and men may not take part in it. They may, however, remain in the *//gãus* while it is going on or enter it when returning from the veld. The *ǂkham-khoidi* are also excluded from it. The */hawa-ǂnab* may be continued for three or four days. When the dance is about to begin an old woman, generally the *gei-khois*, holding a jackal tail duster, takes up a position some distance in front of the */hawa-omi*, and, dancing in one spot as if marking time, shouts *Ki-ri-ri-ri-ri-ri* to waken the initiate and to summon the other women. The latter then emerge from their huts and, dancing as they come along, take up position behind the */hawa-omi*. Two of them dance forward, passing one on each side of the little hut, towards its entrance and, as they reach the latter, the initiate comes out and the old woman stops shouting. After covering her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross (*/gan-tab*), leaving only the eyes visible, each of the women takes an arm and, the other women coming into line from behind the hut, all dance towards the old woman who leads the way to the */huru-ǂgab*. Here they dance, the feet being thrown out sideways, always abreast of each other, with the old woman leading. Men are not permitted to watch the dance. When the dance is about to end they return her to

the */hawa-omi* in a similar manner. The same procedure is gone through for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, she is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in the ceremony and, after she has been returned to the */hawa-omi*, the *axarogu*, who are required to remain in the *//gãus* for the occasion, are summoned to pass in Indian file behind her hut. As they pass each presses his scrotum against her hand which is protruded through a very small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut and she touches it with fore-finger and thumb. This is done to protect the *axarogu* against sexual disease (swelling of the testicles) which is caused by treading on the place where a menstruating */gari-khois* has urinated. If she does not touch the scrotum and such a lad should pass behind her while she has her periods, his testicles will become swollen. The same will happen if she were to tread on the urine of such a boy. When this happens the youth is said to be */gou*. After all the *axarogu* have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the */hawa-omi* and rubs her body down (*/u*) with a preparation of roots, the name and source of which could not be ascertained. Now two of the *ǂkham-khoidi* come forward and take her to fetch water. This is done at a run, the water being brought quickly and placed at the hut of the old woman who rubbed her down. Then two other *ǂkham-khoidi* take her to fetch wood. This is likewise done at a run and after the wood has been deposited the ceremony is over. She is now a woman and known as a */gari-khois*. While the ceremony was in progress a new hut, which is known as the */gari-khois oms*, was built for her by her mother. In this she now takes up her residence until she marries.

The *ǂgari-khois* is now eligible to marry and she accompanies the married women on their various excursions for food, wood, etc., and associates with them. The food collected during the four or five days following her transition to womanhood is eaten only by very old women, *e.g.*, the one who rubbed her down. After that any food gathered by her is shared with her mother. She may subsequently not go to the veld to gather veldkos while she is menstruating, but must remain in the *//gãus*. On such occasions she is fed by her mother.

Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in the pursuit of game, especially big game. The ceremony is in reality a test of their powers of endurance and of their skill in the chase. It is always carried out during the rainy season when food is plentiful. All the eligible lads are removed to a spot some distance away from the werft and placed under the charge of one or more of the elders of the group. An enclosure is made round a big tree and in this they are required to live for the time being. They sleep in the enclosure and the elders around the fire which is made at its entrance. Women are not permitted to approach or communicate with them during the course of the

ceremony, which may last for a month or even longer. The latter, as practised among the *≠Ao-//ĕin*, consists of several stages. On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the smoke of the "devil's" fire (*//gãua-da*) and are required to partake of the "devil's" urine (*//gãua-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nõun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nõun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//nõun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the "Devil" and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nõun* and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. Each one who passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft.

Courtship and Marriage, Death, Etc.

Marriage within the group is forbidden and is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. As a rule men do not go far for wives and intermarriage takes place between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women. The southern groups among the Bushmen of the Kalahari are monogamous but as one proceeds northwards polygamy is met with. Among the *Hei-//om*, for example, each man has two wives as a rule. The wives may or may not be related. The second wife is taken some time after the first. The wife taken first is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over the second wife. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation. Polygamy is rarely met with among the *≠Ao-//ĕin* and *Naron*. Exchange of wives

is practised among some of the Kalahari groups but not by the *Hei-||om*.

Among the *Hei-||om* a young man eligible for marriage is known as a *!gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter to his best friend (*|hosab*) who then approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter will reply, "We are poor, we cannot afford to give our daughter away." Thereupon the *|hosab* returns to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself. The suitor then proceeds to the *||gãus* of the girl's mother, taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some distance away and says, "I want your daughter." The mother replies, "We are too poor to give our daughter away," to which the suitor responds, "I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him," thereby implying that he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, "You are right, you may take her. I will do as you say and see whether you will carry out your promises," and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*!gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away but does not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the *!gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his *||gãus* and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the present (*||ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her daughter to the *!gari-khois oms* and, if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak to each other nor, under normal circumstances, are the presents sent to her mother by the bridegroom until they have slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to obtain meat for the *!gu-ǂa-ǂnab* or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young couple continue to live in the *!gari-khois oms* for some months before taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own *||gãus* his mother builds a hut for them.

Parent-in-law taboo is met with among all the tribes. The son-in-law neither looks at nor speaks to his mother-in-law, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When, in the absence of

his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

A pregnant woman is generally treated with great consideration. For the first confinement it is customary for her to return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-||om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies follow in rapid succession during the course of married life but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among the *Hei-||om* each child is generally given three names, namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus */Uirob Geirob /Geibeb* married a woman */Kao-tamas Gamanis /Harus* and begot two sons, namely *//Otoab ǂGonab /Garub* and *Gogob Gomob /Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras /Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *//Otoab* become *//Otoab ǂGonab /Garub /Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nicknames are common and are given to children when quite young. They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life.

The communities which have not been in contact with civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is very small among them. Sickness is in most instances attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to something going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is administered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both internally and externally through incisions in the skin. Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin. Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it. After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help themselves are left in the werft with a supply of food and water. The rest of the group then move off and do not return to it again.

Dances and Games.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some of the dances such as the *tsei*, *hãigi-ho*, and *ge-!ni* among the *ǂAo-//ẽin* and *Aikwe* and the */hawa-ǂnab* among the *Hei-//om* would appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation ceremonies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The

nature of the latter may be gathered from the following dances of the */Koma-khoin, Xom-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin* groups of the Etosha Pan *Hei-||om*. The common dance among the */Koma-khoin* is the *ǂgami-sab-ǂnab*. Rattles (*/gunu-gu*) are worn round the legs of the dancers. It is danced by men who go round in a circle in Indian file while the women chant and clap their hands. Women, however, may join in the dance one at a time. When this happens and she wants to return to her companions the men as a rule try to prevent her leaving the circle by dancing round her. The *Xom-khoin* also dance the *ǂgami-sab-ǂnab* but without rattles as they do not know how to make the latter. Among the *Hei-||om* of the Etosha region the */gunu-gu* are used only by the */Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*.

In the Jackal and Wolf dance (*/geirab tsi ǂhiras tsira ǂnab*) which is danced by men only, is represented an hyena, which is supposed to be feeding on a carcass, keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way.

The horse-dance (*ha-ǂnab*) is likewise danced by men only who go round quickly in a circle while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse.

The */gae-ǂnab* or gemsbuck dance represents a gemsbuck bull, cow and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The gemsbuck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought at bay. Then the men pretend to shoot and one of the buck goes down wounded while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both man and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for. Bows and arrows are represented by sticks in this dance.

The Kudu dance (*dau-ba-ǂnab*) is danced by men among the *Xom-khoin* while the women chant and clap their hands. In it are represented various phases in the life of a herd of kudu. The hands of some of the dancers are held up to imitate the horns of the bulls. From time to time as it is in progress a couple of women join in the dancing for a short time. Among the */Koma-khoin* it is danced by women.

There is a legend that in the olden days the Klipkaffirs used to pay tribute daily in honey, öintjes, etc., to the *gei-khoib* of the */Koma-khoin*. When for any reason they defaulted for two or three days, the *gei-khoib*, accompanied by his young men, set out for the Klipkaffir encampment to investigate. As soon as the latter became aware of the approach of the *gei-khoib* they grasped everything on which they could lay hands and made for his *||gāus*. On the way

Ao //ẽin Bushman.
Epukiro.

Ao [illegible] Maiden.
Epukuro.

they hurriedly collected whatever veldkos they came across, being closely followed by the *gei-khoib*. In the *ǂao-dama-ǂnab* or dance of the Klipkaffirs who live on the mountain tops, are depicted a couple of Klipkaffirs, carrying heavy loads and closely followed by the Bushmen armed with kirries. The Klipkaffirs are constantly glancing backwards as if anticipating a blow from a kirri. When they see any veldkos they squat down, hurriedly dig it up and place it in their bags. While on the way they are constantly being harassed and threatened with kirries by the pursuing Bushmen. The *ǂao-dama-ǂnab* originated with the Klipkaffirs to commemorate the time when they were held in bondage by the */Koma-khoin* and was taught by them to the latter. It is also known to other groups, *e.g.*, the *Xom-khoin*, but is danced mainly by the */Koma-khoin*.

The *Xom-khoin* have a dance in which are depicted the antics of a group of vultures at the carcass of a zebra. It is confined to men only but the women chant and clap their hands. The carcass is represented by a person lying down. A giant vulture is at the carcass. As the others, who are standing close together some distance away, approach in a row flapping their wings, he raises his wings and makes a dart at them which causes them to stop suddenly and retreat. This dance is known as *man-toea tsi gei-aniti-ǂnab*.

Among all the remaining tribes dances of a similar description are met with, being based as a rule on episodes in the lives of wild animals. Thus the *ǂAo-//ein* and *Naron* have the turtle dove, duiker, porcupine, guineafowl, jackal and other dances. Games are played by grown-up people of both sexes as well as by children. Among the *Hei-//om* the men play their games on an open place cleared of scrub outside the werft. The principal game is the *bies-//heib* which is played with a round tuber (*bies*). The players line up in two rows facing each other and the bies is rolled from one side to the other. As it approaches the opposite side each member of the latter in turn hurls a pointed stick, shaped like an assegaai (*hẽi-heigu*) at it. If he misses, the *bies* is rolled to the now opposite side. If he should hit it the *bies* is left *in situ*, the sides cross over and it is rolled towards the winning side again. Those who have hit it have preference in hurling the *hei-heigu* at the *bies*. This game is played by the */Koma-khoin* only.

Among the games played by the women of these communities may be mentioned the *goarab-/hurub* or white monkey game of the *Xom-khoin*. A white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful

thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see.

In the *surus-/hurub* (game of the ringhals snake) one woman acts as the snake, standing with her hand and forearm raised above the forehead. As the other women approach her she hisses and strikes with the raised hand after the manner of a snake, causing them to scream and retire. This game is said to be founded on the experience of a woman into whose eyes a snake spat while she was trying to drive mice out of a shrub by means of her stick.

The following are a few examples of the games played by the *≠Ao-//ein* and *//Aikwe* of the Kalahari, viz.: *Children's*: a man bartering goods from a trader; cock ostriches fighting with elephants which have come to drink at waterhole; a fight between two opposing groups, small bows and wooden arrows being used; a python lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole. *Men's*, the ostrich game; throwing the *isani*, in which a thin, short-feathered stick, weighted at one end by means of a large bean (bauhinea esculenta), is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again; throwing the stick, in which each player has a thin stick, about three feet long, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. *Women's*, catching the ball in which a melon or round tuber is used for the purpose; the capture of brides by young men, etc.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Food Supply, Etc.

The source of the food supply varies very considerably in different localities. In some it is derived mainly from the vegetable, in others from the animal, kingdom. The Kalahari and northern parts of the territory are rich in both plant and animal life and the Bushmen inhabiting those parts consequently have a fairly well-balanced dietary. In the central and southern Kalahari the most important among the vegetable foods are the *tsamma* (citrullus vulgaris), öintjes (cyperis edulis Dtr.) and *//nŏun* (Bauhinea esculenta). As one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, *e.g.*, the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuandi, omuve, etc. In addition to the above numerous varieties of edible roots, bulbs, tubers, berries, etc., appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season.

Among the *Hei-//om* the following ceremony is observed in connection with the collection of veldkos by the women. It is practised when the fruit of the *≠huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the *≠huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//găus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered

are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gãus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the *!heis*. Her husband now kindles the *!hei/ais* and, after having applied *≠norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it. There is no name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called *!gao-ei-/un*.

Among insects, locusts, ants, scorpions, young bees and honey are greatly relished. Frogs, lizards, snakes, etc., are also eaten. In fact, all living animals are eaten with the exception of the mole and the hyena, the former because its winter larder of öintjes forms a valuable and easily obtainable addition to the supplies of the Bushmen and the latter because it eats human corpses.

The methods used in the pursuit of game vary according to the season, the year being divided into a cold, dry season (winter), a hot, dry season (spring and early summer), a small, rainy season (September and October) and a big, rainy season (January to April). Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season in the case of such animals as guineafowl, bustard, aardvark, ostrich and small game. Pitfalls are not made use of except for hare and springhare as too much work is entailed in making them. Springhare and snakes are also caught by means of a long barbed stick which is passed into the burrows, the animal being transfixed and then dug out. During the big rainy season when the ground is sodden with moisture small buck such as duiker and stembuck are run down on foot and killed with a knob kirri. This method is not applicable to small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor. In the hot weather, however, young buck are easily caught in this manner as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. The gemsbuck does not tire easily. It is run down, therefore, only during the big rainy season when the soft ground impedes its progress and causes it to be caught comparatively easily. All other varieties of big game are run down in the hot, dry season. After a herd of game has been located one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly until it is exhausted and brought at bay, when it is killed with assegaai.

Bow and poisoned arrows are used all the year round. These weapons differ considerably in character in various localities. The Kalahari bow is small compared with that used by the *!Kũng* of the Oschimpoloveld, and *Hei-//om* of the Etosha Pan region; the arrow consists of a reed shaft, bone foreshaft and bone or iron tip, whereas the latter use arrows with feathered wooden shafts and iron tips only. The poison also varies in different localities. In southern Namaqualand it is constituted of a mixture of plant juice (euphorbia), snake poison, scorpions and spiders; in the southern and central

Kalahari only insect poison is used, and further north and north-west only plant poison.

All tribes observe certain customary practices in connection with the hunting of animals with bow and arrow. These vary considerably among the different tribes. The following is an account of the practice as met with among the *Hei-||om*. After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *||gãus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals. The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *||gãus* by the men who may occasionally be assisted by the women. On arrival at the *||gãus* all the meat is laid on the ground under the *!heis* either on sticks which were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib* (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the *!hei-|ais* (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the meantime being hung on the *!heis* (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and "tastes" (tsã-tsã) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *≠koms*.

All meat killed with bow and arrow is *soxa* and may not be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *soxa* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *soxa*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *soxa* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the

Wakeddi Bushmen (Hei //om).
N.W. Ovamboland.

Snare for Small Game.

hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*≠ei-ti*). Her portion is known as the *≠noe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The *≠noe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *≠kham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The *≠noe-di*, however, may not be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *//gãus*. It is not brought under the *!heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *≠kham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women partake of any other meat than the *≠noe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu* (youths) is known as *!om-//gani* and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles, etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at the *axarogudi ≠gaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the *!heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him and if he eats any other part, *e.g.*, the *≠koms* he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions about two finger breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis* may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *≠noe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*, under which is included the *≠koms*. The latter may be eaten only under the *!heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is menstruating will, however, not partake of the *≠koms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib* and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by the members of an outlying *//gãus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the *//gãus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gãus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he

visits a *//gãus* for this purpose he kindles the *!hei-/ais* with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own.

Any want of success in the chase is generally attributed to some chance incident. For example, a man, who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife had her periods, will not hunt again when she is in that condition nor will she eat any of the *≠noe-di* at such times. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating. This prohibition is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. If, however, an animal is killed with bow and arrow after having been brought at bay by a dog, the meat is *soxa* and women may eat the *≠noe-di*. The remains of an animal killed by a lion are not *soxa* and may be partaken of by all individuals. Care, however, is taken not to offend the lion which likewise observes certain practices after each kill. After having had his fill he buries the sacrum and haunchbones and covers them over with the dung (stomach contents) of the animal. If he should be unsuccessful in hunting his prey he returns to the spot of the last kill, digs up the buried parts and inters them in another place. This he does to restore his luck and if he should find that the bones have been taken away he will follow the person who removed them right into the *//gãus*.

Soxa applies only to meat killed with bow and arrow and as far as is known at present this practice exists among the *Xom-khoin*, */Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*. Among these groups the meat of the following animals is *soxa*, namely, steinbuck, duiker, springbuck, hartebeest, gemsbuck, kudu, wildebeest and giraffe. The eland, which is a comparatively rare visitor to the parts occupied by these groups is not killed at all by the *Xom-khoin* who believe that harm will befall any person who eats its meat. In other words the *Xom-khoin* consider the eland to be absolute *soxa*. Among other groups the man who shoots an eland must, on returning to the *//gãus*, sleep under the *!heis* as intercourse with his wife will prevent the poison from killing the animal. The same applies to a person who shoots a giraffe.

The implements and utensils which are used in the collection and preparation of food are very few in number. Vegetable food is dug up with a sharpened stick, 2 to 5 feet in length. Öintjes, *//ñoun* and other similar plant foods are roasted in hot ashes covered with cinders. Ants (Bushman rice) are dealt with in a similar manner and then recovered again by means of a sieve of grass matting. Locusts are either roasted or boiled. Frogs, etc., are sometimes roasted over the fire on a wooden spit (braaistok) stuck into the ground. Birds, snakes, small antelope, etc., are prepared by placing them in a hollow made in the ashes with a flat paddle-shaped wooden scoop and covering them over with live coals. The meat of larger

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The */Nu-//ẽin* and *//Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *ǂAo-//ẽin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich eggshells are used for carrying and storing water and for the manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time form the most important article of barter among the */Nu-//ẽin, Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-//om*. Among the most northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omuva* tree, are the principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive

communities are surrounded. Except among the groups which have long been in contact with and largely influenced by other races belief in a supreme being would appear not to exist. The partly disorganised *ǂAo-//ēin* and *//Aikwe* groups of the Gobabis district believe in a good being named *!Khutse* or "God" and a bad being called *Gãua* or "Satan." About the nature, however, of these beings they have no idea nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them. People who die a "good death" are said to go to *!Khutse* and those dying a "bad death" to *Gãua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. Among the primitive groups a deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. *Buchu* (*tsã*) is accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them. Every sphere of activity in life is influenced by some superstition or other which, as a rule, finds expression in certain avoidances or in ceremonial and other rites and practices. Examples of these have been given in connection with the subjects already discussed. It is unnecessary to allude to them any further.

Divination is widely practised and absolute faith is placed in the divining properties of the objects which are used for the purpose. The source from which these properties have been derived is attributed by some to their "first big Bushman," by others to *Gãua* ("satan"). Thus the Bushman *Tji-tji* is said to have been initiated by *Gãua* "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver. *Tji-tji* had killed a gemsbuck. *Gãua* arrived on the scene and said, "I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here." After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-tji* remarked to *Gãua*, "Give me that stuff (*//ai*)." The latter replied, "If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?" *Tji-tji* answered, "I will give you the horns." *Gãua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic.

In conclusion I desire to express my regret at having been unable to deal with the subject of this report in a comprehensive manner during the short time at my disposal. More detailed information on the Bushmen of this Territory is available, however, in the works mentioned in the bibliography.

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THE NAMA.

BY

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Hottentot.

Hottentot Woman.

THE NAMA.

I. Physical and Mental Characteristics.

1. The Nama nation lives in South West Africa. Its principal seats are in the territory between the Orange and the Swakop rivers. Ethnographically it forms a portion of the Hottentots, once a nomad people consisting of many tribes which wandered over the broad plains of Southern Africa before the arrival and expansion of the Europeans.

2. The Nama are mostly of medium height. Some of them attain a height of 1.70 m., which is the reason for the observation made in old reports that the Nama are a tall race compared with the Hottentots of the Cape. Their general height, however, varies from 1·50-1·65 m. Members of both sexes are frequently met with, however, who are less than 1·50 m. in height.

3. The colour of their skin is remarkably light. A light-skinned people among the dark races of Africa is in itself an enigma and leads one to the assumption that the Nama migrated with other Hottentot tribes from Northern Africa in prehistoric times. This view gains in probability in the light of linguistic research and is supported by old legends.

The colour of the skin, which on the palms of the hands and the soles of the feet, is hardly different from that of European races, may be described as pale yellow, tinged, particularly in the case of the old tribe of the Red Nation, with a red undertone. Over the spine there is a darker patch. The membranes of the lips are a pale dull red.

4. The skull is of peculiar shape. The narrow forehead, which is usually slightly arched, has no bumps. The back of the head is more or less arched and never flat. The cheek-bones are prominent. The receding chin is pointed. The prominent cheekbones and pointed chin give the face an almost triangular appearance, especially in the case of elderly people, whose rounded cheeks have been superseded by numerous wrinkles. The root of the nose hardly protrudes, the bridge has the appearance of having been pressed back and ends in a flat, broad snub nose, the openings of which are clearly visible.

5. The prominent cheekbones and the flattened bridge of the nose cause the eye-lids to seem slanted. The glaring sun of the country and the frequent lack of vegetation force the ocular muscles to contract, causing the eyes to blink and this accentuates the impression of slant-eyes. The iris is always

dark brown and shows no distinct patches caused by veins as is the case with the brown eyes of the European. The white of the eye frequently has a tone verging into dirty yellow.

6. The prognathism of the jaws which is conspicuous in almost all of them, is frequently accentuated by thick, protruding lips. Thick lips are, however, not the rule with all of them. The teeth are often of exceeding whiteness and regularity, but in the case of elderly people they are frequently prematurely decayed or lost.

7. The ears are mostly small, the lobe of the ear either wholly or partly joined. I have never observed a Darwinian tip. Most remarkable, however, is the variety of ear-shells, for I have observed ear-shells which were almost devoid of cartilage while the cartilage of others was so strong that it was very difficult to bend the ear.

8. The hair of the head is black, short and woolly. When not combed the hair has the appearance of being gathered into small tufts. It was on account of this that the Hottentots were given the name of "peperkop," since the woolly, fine and frizzy hair reminds one of pepper-corns. The hair rarely turns grey before the 60th or 70th year, and it is the rarest thing to meet an old Nama with wholly white hair. The armpits and other portions of the body are very sparsely covered.

9. With the exception in the limbs, there is a peculiar propensity to adipose tissue. In young people of both sexes there is a regular distribution of fat, which gives the skin a certain pleasing and taut appearance; but the appearance of elderly men, and particularly women who have had one or more children, is completely changed. The skin of the stomach becomes flabby and the skin gives the impression of being loosely hung over the muscular system, as if it has not been able to contract upon the disappearance of the fat. The stomach skin, later the chest, is then covered with innumerable wrinkles, until at last the face too reveals numberless wrinkles.

During this period of redistribution of fat, steatopyga sets in with many women, which is apparently a hypertrophy of the fat over the coccygeal muscles. Not all women have this accretion of fat, which to the Nama is the ideal of beauty: but it is estimated that about 10 per cent. of the Nama women attain to this ideal. Some men of advanced age, strange to say, also reveal distinct steatopyga.

10. The hands and feet of men and women are of exceeding daintiness, and this daintiness is surpassed only by the Bushmen. Europeans certainly do not rival them. A number of these physical peculiarities indicate that the Nama are in all probability not a pure race, and that in past centuries there has been a considerable admixture of Bushmen blood.

11. To the description of the somatic peculiarities of the Nama may be added a description of the psychic characteristics. The Nama is above all an emotional being. It is not difficult to rouse him to transports of joy and he who is able to rouse his joyous instincts has won his heart. In this state the Nama is willing, kind and hospitable; he will share his last crumb with his visitor and reveals clearly that he is indeed capable of noble sentiments. In this state, too, he is susceptible to religious impressions and the indiscrimination with which he surrenders to his emotions makes him an easy victim and a ready follower of visionaries. It need scarcely be added that dreams, visions, supernatural voices, etc., are fruitful seed in minds of such psychological structure.

12. On the other hand, when under the influence of disagreeable passions the Nama presents an altogether different and almost unrecognisable aspect. He is then sulky, unapproachable, impudent, faithless, unmerciful and cruel.

13. Both in his good and bad moods he is impelled by the desire to play the great man, to earn as much as possible with the least exertion. Yet he consumes his earnings in the most uneconomical manner and loves to preen himself in the grandest of attire.

14. Contrary to the descriptions of the older historians, the Nama is nowise slow of thought. He knows how to use his senses and he is able to translate for his use with great rapidity of thought, whatever his eye, ear and sense of smell have communicated to him. As far as rapidity of thought and imagination are concerned, the Nama takes the first place in South West, leaving the Hereros, Berg Damaras and Ovambos, even the so-called Bastards, far behind. He is musical, but the beauties of nature make no impression whatever on him. He is a great teller of tales and listens to tales with great attention, but for the past history of his people he has little interest, preferring a foreign language to his mother-tongue.

15. Will power, which gives character its type and reliability is but slightly developed in any of them. Principles count for little and a Nama will never fall back on a principle to explain his actions. It may be taken as an axiom that when the Nama acts under the influence of his agreeable instincts, the good qualities of his nature become evident in a surprisingly beautiful manner; but when he acts on his disagreeable impulses he can no longer be trusted and is capable of quite unsuspectedly evil actions.

H. Sching, with whose judgment of the Nama I agree, writes of them: "They have their virtues and vices like every other people, but in order to judge them, we must descend from the pedestal of civilization, often so artificial, and place ourselves in their past, their environment and

their mode of thought. Only then may we hope to obtain a clear impression of their psychic condition. Anyone who for any length of time has travelled in the company of Hottentots and has suffered starvation and thirst with them, has shared their joys and sorrows, will doubtless discern under that rough exterior a good heart, will learn to appreciate them and inevitably admit that their good points outweigh their bad."

II. Divisions and Distribution.

1. The origin of the tribal name " Hottentot " has not yet been cleared up. The old reports spell the name in different ways: Ottentoo, Hottnot, Hodmodod, Hottentott. It is assumed that the meaning attached to the word by the old settlers was " a stammerer " and that the name had reference to the peculiar clicks of the language, which give its speech a distinctive character. At any rate the name is not of Hottentot origin, nor had the Hottentots a distinct name to include all their tribes. Old reports state that they also called themselves " Quaiqua " or " Khoi-khoin "; but these names differ merely in spelling, not in meaning. He who knows the language sees at once that the word Quaiqua is an effort to fix the word Khoigua in writing. But Khoigua merely means men, while Khoin is the word for " people," and Khoi-khoin means people of pure race, *i.e.*, excellent people.

2. In all probability the Hottentot tribes migrated from the region of the Central African lakes in prehistoric times and moving westwards, crossed the Kunene, and then entered present-day South West Africa, passing between the Kaokoveld and Ovamboland. It is impossible now to say with any degree of certainty what the cause of the migration may have been, but it may be assumed that the numerous Bantu tribes pressed them southwards. In the case of a nomadic people, other causes, however, are also possible. At the time of the Hottentot immigration, South West Africa must have been well-nigh uninhabited, for the Herero had not yet occupied the land. In all probability the Bergdama laboured as herdsmen or servants for the nomadic Hottentots, whose language they had adopted, and first came to South West with their masters.

The traces and paintings of the Bushmen on rocks betray that in all probability they were the first inhabitants of the vast territory, which was to become the grazing and hunting ground of the most varied African tribes.

3. While the great majority of the Hottentots moved South with their herds, until they reached the utmost point, the very //Hui-!keib, *i.e.*, place of the snakes, where Cape Town now lies, some tribes settled in South West and led a nomadic life between the Orange and Swakop Rivers.

Thus the migrations of the Hottentots reveal the same characteristics which we find later in the migrating Herero. The Herero also moved southwards, after having crossed the Kunene.

The main force pushed down as far as the Swakop and wandered about in the pastures north of the Swakop, the southern part having already been occupied by the Hottentots. But the poorer Herero did not move down so far, but remained in the Kaokoveld up to this very day.

4. The names of those Hottentot tribes which migrated into the Cape Colony have partly been preserved in old documents, but unfortunately the spelling of the names of these tribes is so inaccurate that to-day, the tribes having ceased to exist, the correct spelling of the names according to the Hottentot pronunciation, is no longer possible. Almost all names were written, not only without the click, but with the suffix for the third person, masc., plur., which is ga in the accusative but gua in antique pronunciation, changed by old writers to qua which merely means "belonging to the masculine sex"—an indication of the small importance of the women in these nomadic tribes.

5. The following are the names of the different tribes (in the old spelling), that migrated into the region south of the Orange River:—

(i) Hesequa in the present district of Caledon;

(ii) Gochoqua in the vicinity of Saldanha Bay;

(iii) Namaqua, north of the Hesequa.

(iv) Gorinhaiqua known as the "Kapliden."

(v) Gorona, also written Goraqua, Gorachonqua, whose real name is !Khora, out of which Koranna has been made through the omission of the click and the addition of the suffix for the 3rd pers., plur., com. acc. They led a roving life in the country between the Orange and Vaal. In 1813 the Rev. Mr. Campbell found them in the neighbourhood of Kuruman and Lithako. Later on they settled in Bethanie under influence of the Berlin Mission. In 1850 the tribe still consisted of approximately 20,000 souls under 17 chiefs. In 1870 the tribe had practically died out.

(vi) Damaqua who roamed about the Great Fish River.

(vii) Gonaqua, nomads on the Gamtoos River, probably as important as Gonnema, discussed elsewhere.

(viii) Chainouqua, often called "Kapmans."

(ix) Attaqua.

(x) Outeniqua, between the Gamtoos and Breede Rivers. Lichtenstein refers to them as the Uteniga, doing more justice to the phonetic sounds in the name of the tribe.

(xi) Hancoumqua in the Eastern Cape Province.

(xii) Chariguriqua in the neighbourhood of St. Helena Bay. Obviously it is the same tribe elsewhere called the Gouriqua, from which the word Grigriqua is formed. The real name of the tribe was ǂKari-huriqua=*i.e.*, the small (=ǂKari-) tribe which lives at the sea (-hurib=sea). This tribe was afterwards known under the name Griqua. In 1713 Peter Kolbe found them near St. Helena Bay. During the first half of the 18th century they wandered about in the neighbourhood of the present Clanwilliam. By then they had European blood in them. Later they mixed with nomadic Bastards. Consequently they called themselves Bastards with pride till Campbell induced them in 1813 to re-adopt their old, unfortunately mutilated and almost forgotten, name of Griqua.

Under their chief, Adam Kok, they founded Griquatown in 1813.

6. Van Riebeek, the first Dutch Commander at the Cape, says of these Hottentots, that, generally speaking, they had as much intelligence as the common Hollander but were more cautious and more cunning than the latter and well knew how to take advantage of every opportunity.

The East India Company exercised great care in the maintenance of peaceful relations with the Hottentots.

Later developments and the inland migration of the Europeans caused the Hottentot tribes to retreat partly to the North, across the Orange River, to settle in the territories of their countrymen who had stayed behind, and to be partly absorbed by the mongrel races which had come into being in the meantime in the Cape Colony.

At present pure Hottentot tribes are found only in South-West Africa.

7. Eight tribes which did not cross the Orange River with their emigrating countrymen, but had wandered about between the Orange and Swakop Rivers, each separate tribe having taken possession of a large territory, settled in South-West Africa during the time of the old Hottentot emigrations. Six of these tribes entered into an alliance and formed a loosely-knitted entity under the leadership of the //Khauben. These, living in the centre of the territory, seem to have had a number of able leaders and chiefs.

The //Khauben, also called Gei-//Khaun, are now well-known under the name "Rode Natie." The allied tribes were called, and to this day call themselves, /Awa-khoin= Red people.

The names of the allied tribes are:

(i) //Khauben, also Gei-//Khaun or Rode Natie, with capital Hatsamas. The survivors of these tribes are now resident at Hoachanas. Among the twelve chiefs, whose names are still doubtful, Chief //Oaseb

was very prominent. As he was still under age at the time his father died, his sister, Games, took over the reign till he became of age. Thus in the years 1830-1840 this remarkable event came to pass that a woman ruled over six Hottentot tribes.

(ii) !Kara-gai-khoin also called "Franschmannsche Hottentots," known later as the Simon-Koper-Leute. They dwelt on the Oub River.

(iii) !Kara-!ôan, whose pastures were on the Chamob River.

(iv) //Hawoben whose tribal name should be translated into "Veldschoendragers" under which name they are referred to frequently in literature. They were domiciled North of (iii).

(v) //Khan-/gôan, *i.e.*, children of the tribe of the //Khauben, also called the "Zwartboois." They were stationed temporarily in Rehoboth till 1870, whence they removed to Ameib in the country of the Herero and are at present settled at Franzfontein in the southern part of the Kaokoveld.

(vi) //O-gein, *i.e.*, Groot-doden. Their former pastures were those on the upper course of the Fish River. Half a century ago this tribe ceased to exist as a result of the wars against the Herero and the tribal quarrels.

These tribes, under the leadership of the //Khauben or the *Rode Natie*, claimed possession, on the grounds of tradition, of the whole territory bordering on Lake Ngami in the East, the Chamob River in the South, the Atlantic Ocean in the West and the Omaruru River and Amboland in the North.

(vii) Besides these six allied tribes the ≠Ounin, also called !Gomen or !Naranin, known as the "Topnaars" from the translation of ≠Ounin, were settled in the territory of Walvis Bay. Probably these constitute the remnants of earlier coast-tribes. Hundreds of years ago their territory was still of vast dimensions. When Missionary Schmelen visited Okahandja and Walvis Bay in 1825, he found that the herds of the "Topnaars" were grazing as far as Okahandja. By the Herero in the North and West as well as by the Nama in the South this tribe was later confined to the small and barren territory of Walvis Bay.

(viii) The last of the free tribes are the !Gami-≠nun or Bondelswartz who have retained their pastures in the South of Namaland, on the Orange River, and their old capital at Warmbad up to this day.

8. As the colonization of the Cape Colony by Europeans progressed, the Hottentot tribes, wandering about there, lost their desired freedom of action. Those who had absorbed

European blood or who had been servants on farms, etc., and had come in contact with western civilization and who could partly make themselves understood in the Dutch language, gradually migrated to the North, for they knew that beyond the Orange River their countrymen were still enjoying unlimited freedom.

So we see Hottentot settlements arise on the southern bank of the Orange River and missionaries hard at work trying to evangelise those who had emigrated. At Pella and other places flourishing Hottentot communities came into existence. But as the boundaries of the Cape Colony were extended to include them and besides Small Namaland was suffering from severe drought, in one year five rather large tribes crossed the Orange River in order to obtain land and pasturage in Great Namaland.

These emigrations from the Cape Colony were not of entire tribes, for amongst the names of the immigrating tribes we find none of the twelve tribes which we have already met in the Cape Colony. These migrations took place in this way: Any influential and strong personality would set out with some followers. On the way others, who were not satisfied with existing circumstances or who could no more reside in the Cape Colony as cattle thieves, because things got too hot for them or the boundaries too narrow, joined this leader.

As has already been said, most of them settled in Little Namaland which they were passing through on their way to cross the Orange River to look for a new fatherland in South-West, where they were called the "Orlams.'

9. The derivation and the meaning of the word "Orlam" has not yet been determined. Professor Mansvelt traces this word back to the Malay language and says that during the régime of the East India Company the conventional Indian word for old and trustworthy servants was "Orang lami" = old people, and that this name has been assigned to Hottentot servants who were in settled employment.

The fact is that to-day the name Orlam is still used in a figurative sense for a handy and clever Nama in South-West Africa.

The Orlam tribe, containing many hybrids of Dutch descent, who had adopted something of European civilization, possessing horses and supplied even with firearms, made on the Nama who had never been in contact with civilization, the impression that they were highly developed people.

That the meaning "Oorlandse mense" is also attached to the word Orlam by the Nama would lead one to believe that the word means foreigners, people coming from across the Orange River, *i.e.*, people who are "further off."

10. The five Orlam tribes have the following names:—

(i) /Khowesin; who emigrated from the Cape Colony, under their leader Kido Witbooi, and stayed at the

missionary station at Pella on the southern bank of the Orange River for quite a long time. By 1810 they had already crossed the Orange River and were roving about in the territory of the Fish River without fixed stations. They were called Witboois after their leader. Some Christians among them insisted upon the founding of a fixed abode. Such a place was ultimately established at Kocha-tsus, in the present Gibeon. In the year 1862 they settled there and in 1863 a station of the Rhenish Mission was founded among them. As the Witboois observed strict neutrality as far as the tribal quarrels amongst the Nama were concerned, they had to suffer much from raids of the *Rode Natie*. Could anyone then foresee that within a few decades the rule over the Nama tribe would be transferred from the Red Nation into the hands of the Witboois?

(ii) Gei-/Khauan or Amraal Hottentots, who settled at Nausannabis and in the eastern part of the Herero country, later in Gobabis.

(iii) ǂKari-/Khauan, or Berseba Hottentots, now resident at the foot of the Broekkaross.

(iv) !Aman, or Hottentots of Bethanie.

These three tribes, the Gei-/Khauan, ǂKari-/Khauan and !Aman seem to have left the Cape Colony at the same time. For a time most of them settled in Little Namaland at the missionary stations Pella, Steinkopf and Komaagas. During that time grazing conditions were very bad there.

Schmelen, the German missionary of the London Missionary Society, urged them to migrate further into South-West. By order of his Society he left Little Namaland in 1814 and following the course of the //Gôa-/geb, now called the Konkip River, he, with a great number of the Orlams, settled at /Ui-ǂganis in Great Namaland, which place he called Bethanie. Later on Amraal Lamberts and his people the Gei-/Khauan migrated to Nausannabis and Gobabis.

The !Aman remained in Bethanie and the +Kari-/khauan, under missionary influence, settled at the foot of the Broekkaross in Berseba.

(v) The last Orlams who crossed the Orange River had the tribal name of the //Aicha-//ain = angry tribe. Their tribal history is very typical and may be sketched here.

In the Tulbagh district the so-called !Hantam there lived a little chief, !Garuchamab by name, during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Between the years 1790-95 he left Tulbagh to settle permanently in the !Hantam near the present Calvinia. He had two sons, /Hôa-/arab and Titus.

After the death of his father, /Hôa-/arab, with his brother as well as his followers went to stay with a farmer called Pienaar. This man gave him another name which could be pronounced more easily and called him Afrikaner. Pienaar treated his people badly, and it came to a rupture. Titus shot his master and Afrikaner's relations murdered Pienaar's wife and children and, fleeing, they drove all the cattle in the direction of the Orange River, not to be within reach of the Police and to be safeguarded against prosecution. These people possessed many rifles, for Pienaar, as farm Police, used to take his people with him on his notorious raids in order to clear the neighbourhood of Hottentot and Bushmen thieves.

These firearms gave this tribe a great superiority over their neighbours at the Orange River. They invaded Afrikanerkraal on the southern bank of the Orange River. Even Warmbad was assaulted by the Afrikaners and the missionary station burnt down.

The Cape Government set a price of £150 on Jager's head. While stationed at Afrikanerkraal Jager came in contact with some missionaries. Moffat, Livingstone's father-in-law, was working there from September, 1817, up to October, 1818, after the missionary Ebner had christened Jager and a number of his people on the 23rd July, 1815. In the year 1819 Jager, who was henceforth called Christian, made a journey to Cape Town in company of his missionary, where he was received by the Governor himself, pardoned and presented with a gift. Jager, alias Christian, died in the year 1823. He had conferred the Chieftainship on his energetic son Jonker, although it was not due to him. Jonker secured the greatest part of the retinue and moved northward, led a nomadic life and ultimately settled in Windhoek, where he subjugated the Herero and brought the Nama under his sway and died in Okahandja in 1861. His grave is covered with a heap of almost unrecognisable stones, just as the tribe of this "Napoleon of the South" has vanished without glory or even leaving a trace.

III. Wars and Decline.

1. Shortly after the invasion of the Orlam in about the year 1830, strenuous fighting was going on between the Nama and the Herero.

The Herero exhibited a tendency to rove further and further south and their cattle were already grazing as far as the territory of Rehoboth. The Nama, whose pastures had

already been limited by the immigration of the Orlam, showed a tendency to move from the south to the north and north-east and thus had to meet the Herero in the north and the Mbanderu in the north-east. Many battles were fought in which they fought for two things, extermination of the enemy and for the possession of his cattle. As a rule the Nama were less fortunate than the Herero in these pillaging expeditions.

2. In these distressing circumstances the female Chief of the Red Nation turned to Jonker Afrikaner, whose troops, although not many, were superior to the Herero by reason of the possession of fire-arms, while the latter still used to fight with arrow, bow, club and spear after the old fashion. Jonker in conjunction with the Red Nation and allied tribes drove the Herero back, wandered to and fro in Namaland for quite a long time and settled eventually in Windhoek about the year 1835. A man with very high aspirations and unbridled desires for power, he aimed at becoming sovereign chief of the Nama tribe and at the same time forcing the Herero under his sway.

For this purpose he chose his capital seat strategically, right between these two tribes in the centre of the country. At Christmas, 1842, a temporary peace was made between him and the Herero, but did not last long. Jonker was visited by traders who sold large quantities of brandy to him, furnished him with guns, gunpowder and lead, and advised him to settle his heavy accounts with cattle from the Herero herds.

3. As early as 1846 Jonker broke the peace and made a renewed attack on the Herero, whose most powerful chief, Tjamuaha, lived in Okahandja. After a terrible massacre on August 23rd, 1850, at Okahandja, in which many Herero men were slain, and many women crippled to obtain the copper rings they wore round their legs, by chopping off their feet, the opposition of the Herero was so broken that Tjamuaha placed himself under Jonker's protection to save himself and his cattle, and the chief of the Herero became Jonker's first servant. The latter furnished him with guns and ordered him to rob his own subjects so as to enable Jonker to meet his trading debts.

At that time many Herero fled to the north with their herds, while others returned to the Kaokoveld so as to be safe from their own chief Tjamuaha, but Jonker, in order to make the suppression of the Herero complete, went to Okahandja.

4. When death overtook him there on August 18th, 1861, he had attained through numerous raids and battles, what he aimed at; instead of the former predominance of the Red Nation, the Afrikaners were the leaders of the Nama tribe in war and in peace and the Herero had to pay tribute to the Nama. However, this supreme sovereignty did not last long. Tjamuaha, " Jonker's dog," also died. His successor was the determined Maharero, while Jonker was succeeded by the weakling, Christian Afrikaner.

Maharero left Okahandja all of a sudden and went to Otjimbingue, where he gathered all available Hereros round him. Christian feeling himself too weak unaided to seize him there, especially as Maharero had furnished his people with firearms, called the Nama tribes to his assistance. On June 15th, 1863, in a decisive battle at Otjimbingue the Nama were totally defeated and Christian, as well as the Chief of Bethanie, lost their lives.

Christian's successor was Jonker's nephew, Jan Jonker Afrikaner. He also suffered many defeats from Maharero, till ultimately in 1870 the Peace of Okahandja was made, whereby Jan Jonker took possession of Windhoek in fee to the Herero and pledged himself to observe peace.

5. There followed ten years of peace. It is worth noting that during this time Mr. Palgrave concluded treaties of protection with the Nama and Herero chiefs by order of the Cape Government, in order to restore peace to the disorganised country by bringing it under the supreme power of the Cape Government. Protective treaties were unknown to the Herero and Nama and so much was promised on both sides that they were signed without much opposition by well-nigh all the chiefs, but new riots brought these treaties to a sudden end. While Palgrave was in Gobabis discussing the matter with the Nama chiefs there, some Herero herdsmen were slain by the Nama. Immediately after receiving this news Maharero had all Nama, residing in Okahandja, killed. This happened on August 23rd, 1880, exactly thirty years after the massacre by Jonker in Okahandja. He also gave orders for all Namas in Hereroland to be killed. A cry of indignation went up through all Namaland. Mr. Palgrave, who was afraid that his treaties with the Nama chiefs in Gobabis might induce chief Maharero to turn against him personally, went back to Walfisch Bay as fast as possible and left the country, and as the Cape Parliament did not seem very anxious to bring restless South West Africa under its rule, nothing resulted from his mission.

6. The indignant Nama of almost all the tribes gathered round Jan Jonker Afrikaner. But the Herero also mobilised and stormed Windhoek, the capital of the Afrikaners, and razed the mission station there to the ground. On the 11th and 12th of December in a fierce battle at Otjikongo near Okahandja, the Nama were completely beaten. Jan Jonker just managed to save himself with a few Afrikaners, but his power was broken and the supreme power of the Afrikaners over the Nama passed into the hands of the Orlam tribe residing in Gibeon. Jan hid himself in the Gaus Mountains and wrought much damage to the Herero by incessant pillaging expeditions.

7. Moses Witbooi, the chief of the Orlam at Gibeon then became spokesman and supreme ruler of the Nama. Imbued with a spirit of ineradicable hatred against the Herero he

instigated another campaign against them, which on September 22nd came to a battle. On both sides more soldiers had been raised than ever before. Again were the Nama defeated, and had to deliver up all wagons, ammunition and horses to the Herero. The missionary Hahn tried to establish peace on behalf of the Cape Government, but not one of the Nama chiefs was willing to participate in the peace negotiations, and a separate treaty only was entered into by the Herero and Rehoboth Bastards, who had taken over this territory from the Swartboois ten years previously, and had had to suffer very much as a buffer state between the quarrelsome Nama and Herero.

8. Then Moses Witbooi decided to punish the disloyal Bastards who were thus compelled to cast themselves on the mercy of the Herero. The latter consequently again entered Namaland with their herds and the Nama were once more driven to defend themselves. In addition to this Moses Witbooi undertook marauding expeditions against the Bastards, never dreaming that for this he would have an opponent, in his own son, the clever and energetic teacher at Gibeon, Hendrik Witbooi, who wanted his father to restore the stolen cattle to the Bastards.

For this reason father and son fell out and Hendrik migrated to the south in order to furnish himself with ammunition and arms. In June, 1884, he was so well armed that he decided to undertake a campaign against the Herero with his own train of followers, which had been strengthened by an influx of Jan Jonker's people. If his father had done his utmost to secure the supreme reign over the Nama tribes after the Afrikaner tribe had become practically powerless, then Hendrik strove still more vigorously after it. It was not due so much to the hatred against the Herero that the teacher became an army leader, but to the conviction that he as conqueror of the Herero, which he believed himself to be destined for by God, could convincingly prove his qualification as supreme ruler of the Nama. Maharero, who had knowledge of everything that was going on and was determined not to be taken unawares by the Nama in Okahandja again, had already pitched a camp beyond the boundaries of Hereroland and awaited Hendrik. A fight lasting three days ensued in which, however, neither side fought very enthusiastically; and as soon as the cry for peace was raised by the ranks of the Herero, Hendrik was not unwilling to arouse that spirit on his side too, and to enter into a treaty of peace with the Herero. Points of issue were soon settled and Hendrik entered Gibeon as the great conqueror.

9. Evidently both sides were not very serious as regards this peace. Hendrik armed himself again and tried to increase his troops, and on October 14th, 1885, felt himself so strong that he tried to raid Okahandja, but did not succeed.

At Osona, one hour south of Okahandja, a strenuous battle was fought in which the Nama were utterly defeated, 130 horses, all the draught oxen, wagons and ammunition falling into the hands of the Herero and Hendrik just managed to escape with his life. Then Hendrik determined to take a sanguinary revenge. In 1886 he tried to take Okahandja by surprise, but he was driven back and as quite an exceptional case was pursued on the instigation of the Christian Herero and chased till in the vicinity of Rehoboth. His power was destroyed. Henceforth he indulged in mere marauding expeditions against the Herero. When in 1887 Chief Moses Witbooi was murdered, Hendrik took over the captaincy of the tribe. After the murderer of his father had been slain, Hendrik, annoyed at the fact that Jan Jonker was still supreme ruler of the Nama, turned against him and also because he had received news of treaties by Jan Jonker with Hendrik's opponents. Going in quest of Jan in his retreat on the Swakop, Hendrik killed him, ravaged his camp and returned to Gibeon. Thus came to its end the Afrikaner tribe which had once been so powerful!

The Red Nation also, disorganised for fear of Hendrik, after the death of their chief led a marauding life, and thus Hendrik arrived at a very favourable position towards becoming chief ruler of Namaland.

10. Hendrik had a permanent abode at Hoornkranz, north of Rehoboth. Convinced after a good many battles that he could not subdue the Herero in open warfare, he tried to weaken them by raids and marauding expeditions for which enterprises Hoornkranz was very favourably situated. There not only was he near the Herero herds, but could bring the booty easily into safety, and in the inaccessible ravines there was no need to fear the persecution of the Herero. From there he also attacked the southern Nama tribes, which failed to recognise him as their Chief, and he sent out a proclamation to all Nama chiefs in which he proclaimed himself Chief of all Namaland.

11. In this restless decade it happened that on August 6th, 1884, the German flag was hoisted at Luderitzbucht, that the Nama and the Herero chiefs entered into treaties of protection with the German Government, and that Windhuk was decided upon as the capital of South West Africa in order to serve as a wedge between the quarrelling tribes, and a small colonial force endeavoured to restore peace and order. On being summoned to enter a defensive alliance Hendrik opposed this stubbornly. He threatened to chastise the chiefs who had signed the document and thus remained, as he had been and still was, a danger to both the north and the south. On October 7th, 1870 Maharero died and his son Samuel became chief in his stead.

With anxiety Hendrik found that Samuel was entering into closer relationship with the Germans instead of with-

drawing from them and he thought it wiser to make peace with the Herero so as not to have to take up arms against two enemies perhaps later on.

Captain von Francois, Commissioner of the German Government, now prohibited the import of fire-arms and ammunition and made preliminary arrangements for the subjugation of Hendrik.

After the German Colonial force had been strengthened in 1893 he ventured to attack Hendrik in his mountain fortress, but it was his successor, Major Th. Leutwein, who eventually succeeded in his ultimate subjection towards the middle of September, 1894.

Hendrik then made a treaty with the representatives of the German Government whereby Gibeon was granted him as residence; he became recognised chief of the tribe and was compelled to join the army with his people on being summoned by the German Government. Up to 1904 Hendrik abided by this treaty and South West enjoyed a time of peace, except for a few minor disturbances and local rebellions.

12. In October, 1903, the Bondelswarts, resident in Warmbad on the northern bank of the Orange River, attempted to free themselves from the suzerainty of the German Government. They were led by Morenga, whose father was an Herero and his mother a Nama. His assistant leader was Morris, the son of a European and a woman from the Bondelswart tribe. At the commencement Hendrik Witbooi, with 80 recruits, assisted in the suppression of the rebellion. The Governor, Leutwein, in order to suppress the riots in the south as soon as possible, had gathered all available troops from the north. The Herero took their opportunity and in the beginning of January, 1904, Samuel Maharero gave the order for all farmers in the Herero country to be murdered. The whole of the Herero tribe rose in rebellion. On January the 27th, 1904, Leutwein concluded the Peace of Kalkfontein with the Bondelswarts whereby the Warmbad reserve was granted to them and they were compelled to deliver up 300 guns.

By forced marches the troops went to the north. When, on August the 11th and 12th, at the battle at Waterberg, led by General Trotha, Leutwein's successor, the Herero were annihilated, Hendrik Witbooi's troops were still on the side of the Germans.

13. Morenga at Warmbad did not abide by the terms of the peace of Kalkfontein, for during the first months of the Herero War he had disturbed the eastern boundaries of Namaland with his bands. When the rest of the Nama chiefs saw that he was successful, they also joined in the rebellion with the exception of the tribes at Berseba and Bethanie. Even Hendrik Witbooi lent his ear to a missionary of the Ethiopian Society from Port Elizabeth and participated in the hostilities.

The farmers were murdered and the farms robbed and plundered; but it was not until November, 1904, that the German troops could take the offensive. Though Hendrik's people suffered a heavy defeat at Kub on the 22nd of November, 1904, and sustained great losses in the battle at Naris on the 4th of December, yet their power was not yet broken. A guerilla war then went on until Hendrik ultimately fell on the farm Witbooisende, near Vaalgras, and dying, ordered his people to give up the struggle as he wished "his children to have peace."

14. However, the opposition of the remaining tribes was not yet done away with. Part of the Nama tribe of Bethanie hid themselves in the Tiras Mountains and wrought much havoc amongst the German troops, until Christian Goliath, the chief of Berseba, induced them to surrender. Morenga and Morris, as well as the Bondelswarts, continued the guerilla war, assisted by the rough nature of the country. Morenga's band, driven into a narrow corner, escaped the German forces by entering English territory, that is to say by crossing the Orange River and hiding themselves on its southern bank.

At last the Cape Government ordered Morenga to be arrested, which was done by Colonel Elliot on September 20th, 1907, not, however, before Morenga received a fatal wound in the skirmish that ensued.

The Nama under the leadership of Simon Koper, who had escaped into the Kalahari, were still up in arms. After tremendous pains and a good deal of strategy they were also subdued by Captain Friedrich von Erskert, on whom the duty of their punishment had been imposed and who succumbed to a hostile bullet.

15. With this battle the war in Namaland terminated, and the rivalry between the chiefs came to an end, for the Nama realised that although they had it in their power to destroy one another, they could not withstand a European force; and they then resorted to peaceful cattle farming in the reserves around Warmbad and Berseba. The men set out to earn bread for themselves and their families on farms, the diamond fields at Luderitzbucht, and went into service in the quickly developing townships.

By the peace of Korab on July 7th, 1915, Namaland came under the Administration of the Union Government. The Evangelic and Catholic Mission has done splendid work in christianising and educating the different tribes. More than a thousand Nama children attend the missionary schools, which are fortunately supported and controlled by the Government. The Bondelswarts tribe, however, again manifested a tendency to revolt, but with no far-reaching effects, as their prompt suppression safeguarded the rest of Namaland from new distress.

According to statistical returns the Nama tribe numbers 21,000 souls. Half a century ago their number was estimated at 10,000. It is thought that the Nama do not belong to the tribes which are becoming extinct, for their disposition enables them to change their mode of life from a nomadic one to an industrial and settled one with more ease than is the case with the Herero.

IV. Mode of Living and Culture.

1. The oldest form of Nama hut is the dome. In order to construct such a dome-shaped hut they bend moderately thick wooden poles and erect these in a circle 3-4 metres in diameter, driving them into the ground surprisingly quickly by means of a stick made for that purpose. When every hole is furnished with a pole, these are bent inwards evenly and fastened together by means of leather straps; then poles of the same thickness are tied horizontally round this trestle. Rush matting is now placed over the trestle and fastened to it. As according to the arrangement of the huts their villages exhibit a circular formation, an opening in the hut —towards the inside of the village—is left uncovered so as to serve as an entrance. This opening may be closed by means of a piece of rush-matting which just fits into it and is fastened to a cross-pole suspended about three feet high, which can be rolled up and fastened or let down. In a minimum of time such a hut can be pulled down, packed on an ox and erected at the new site in a day. It has this advantage too that it is very airy and yet protective against the inclemency of the weather, as the rush swells with the first drops and practically entirely shuts out the rain. The rush hut is just the ideal residence for a nomadic tribe with no fixed abode.

These huts have become rare in the present day as rush is not often obtainable. Instead of rush they now use sacking, pieces of tin they have picked up, etc. The building of four-cornered huts with one or even two rooms made of wood or corrugated sheet-iron is becoming more and more popular.

2. The furniture consists of the so-called "Katel," a wooden frame with a network of leather straps connecting the four sides, used as a bed. In olden times their bed was merely a slight excavation in the floor of the house, but the more comfortable bedsteads of the white man appealed to them. Tables and chairs are not unusually found in the Nama huts, but it very seldom happens that a woman is found sitting on a chair. It is the privilege of the men to make themselves comfortable on the low little wooden chairs with seats made of leather thongs. The visitor to a neighbour for a little chat often carries his chair with him or has it carried by one of the children.

The earthen pots made of clay and burnt by the women, which belonged to the furniture of a fully equipped house in earlier days, have long since given way to the metal pots of the trader. The paint-box, or rather "vanity bag," however, has been preserved. It consists of a small tortoise-shell of which the opening at the back as well as the two openings at the sides are closed with resin, so that a vessel with only one opening, namely that for the head, remains. In this receptacle they preserve the buchu-powder comprising a mixture of various powdered aromatic shrubs, with which they powder their bodies, in order to remove the smell of perspiration. Men very seldom indulge in the use of this powder. The "box" is suspended by a little leather strap from the framework of the hut—and this is where all their other trifles are kept—or it is worn round the necks of the women for decorative purposes. For conveying their drinking water they used ostrich egg shells in former days, which, however, have long since been replaced by tin cans, buckets and paraffin-tins. Up to the present day they still manufacture the wooden spoons used for dishing up food. For eating purposes, however, the tin spoon has been adopted. It not seldom happens that quite a number of people in want of sufficient spoons use one and the same in turn passing it from hand to hand.

The "fat-box" must also be mentioned. It was as long as a man's finger and consisted of the central part of a clean horn, both ends of which had been cut off and then closed by means of pieces of ox-hide. In this box they had the reddish ointment which was applied to those parts of the face that got chapped during cold weather. The women and girls also applied this ointment to their faces on other occasions.

As recently as 50 years ago stone knives were still in use, but have been displaced by bought knives. The old tobacco pipe consisting of a hollow bone or artistically carved out of serpentine stone is becoming more and more rare. The club is still being manufactured, and a short stick furnished with the tuft of a jackal's tail is still, as it used to be in by-gone days, the distinctive sign of a prominent man or youth, who wards off the flies and wipes off the sweat with it. Altogether the Nama are adepts at manufacturing a variety of useful utensils, but do not like the idea of having more furniture than is absolutely necessary.

3. As the principle of distribution of labour could scarcely be expected to obtain in this once nomadic tribe, everyone makes for himself what his household requires. They make cunning cords from the fibres of different shrubs, which are used in making the matwork for their houses, and also thin but strong strings which the hunters require for their snares. The art of manufacturing bracelets and arrow-points from copper and iron had been learnt from the Bergdama. Baskets

are made from suitably flexible roots and twigs. To-day they still accomplish great feats in the preparation of skins of animals for domestic purposes. Hides are dressed according to a method inherited from their ancestors, the pieces of skin being put together in dainty and many-coloured patterns, which are sewn together with sinews of the animals.

In this way some form of home-industry has been developed in many a family, and as these skins are bought by Europeans they contribute towards its maintenance.

From their early youth the daughters help their mothers in domestic duties, and without any special training, adapt themselves to all sorts of labour, implicit in the management of a Nama household.

4. The main task is to attend to the cattle farming. As nomads in earlier times they lived chiefly on the milk and meat of their cattle and there were rich people among them too; for old documents tell of a certain cattle-owner who possessed as many as 4,000 cattle and 3,000 sheep. Even up to the present day each family tries to rear some goats, sheep and, if possible, some cows too. All do not succeed, of course, in becoming well-to-do, whereas others own large herds. The Nama is not so keen on rearing cattle as on rearing sheep and goats. There is a simple reason for this. A Herero of the old type is satisfied with curds and whey and only enjoys meat if he has had luck while hunting or when an animal belonging to his herd has met with an accident on the pastures; but the Nama is not so simple in his needs; he wants to eat meat. As in a hot country, like South West, meat putrefies very soon, it is more effective for a family to slaughter a sheep or a goat so as to provide just enough meat for a day's need. White settlers also keep a flock of goats in order to satisfy their daily desire for meat, for cattle are not only too valuable but yield too much meat at a time.

In spite of this they always had rather small herds of cattle in earlier days, principally in order to have riding oxen and pack-oxen, as without these a nomadic life would have been almost out of the question because not only the men but the women rode on oxen during their long migrations; besides the poles and matting for the construction of their huts as well as their furniture had to be conveyed by means of pack-oxen. The Nama also possessed horses and used them for riding purposes. Fairly early and in their old wars and pillaging expeditions horses played a great part. The dog, however useful as watching over the house and assistant in the hunt, is never cared for properly.

5. The Nama has always considered himself to be a master and he has always deemed labour beneath his dignity. His weak limbs and delicate physique disqualify him for hard work so that wherever possible they employ herdsmen and domestic servants, and Bushmen, Bergdama and even Herero

captives were so employed in olden times. Although such servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

kitcken, and herein they are very different from the Bushmen and Bergdama; a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyæna, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing.

9. The Nama from the earliest times has appreciated honey-beer, which he knew how to brew from wild honey by a process of fermentation, and he indulged in smoking "dacha." This " dacha " is a kind of hemp, with a narcotic smoke, which puts the smoker in a state of dreamy insensibility after the first few draughts.

Recently they have taken to drinking instead of this honey-beer, a kind of sugar-beer brewed in great quantities from sugar, yeast, legumes and water. A Nama who drings his sugar-beer regularly becomes the most miserable and unemployable of individuals.

It is a great blessing for the tribe that the acquisition of strong and spirituous drinks is prohibited. The German Government had prohibited the sale of liquor to them and the Mandate Administration has maintained this prohibition. Even if brandy is prohibited, they still have tobacco, coffee and sugar at their disposal, and these three are so essential to the life of a Nama that it has been said exaggeratingly that the Nama having these three means of enjoyment, will be able to live on them without longing for anything else.

V. Religion and Religious Cults.

1. For more than 200 years the majority of Hottentots have more or less been under Christian influence and therefore it will be very difficult to give any reliable account of their real and traditional religion, as only inadequate reports about their religious ideas and customs of the time when they first came in contact with Europeans, are obtainable. The Dutch minister Valentyn, who stayed at the Cape for some time on his homeward journey from India, relates, in about the year 1705, that he heard of the Almighty being called by the name Khouron and that they called the Evil one Dango and Damoh. They also told him of a divine being Tiqua or Tuqua and besides they feared a ghost called Somsoma very much. But Peter Kolbe says in 1719 that it is undeniable that the Hottentots pray to a supreme being which they called Gounia Tiqua. In 1671 Dapper tells of the worship of Humma or Summa, and Missionary Schmidt, who was the first missionary to work among the Hottentots from 1735-1744, writes the name of the Supreme Being Tui-Lqua. According to Wuras the Koranna worshipped Cukoab as their heavenly God, whose name appears in seven different spellings in his small " Bible." It must be remembered that all these reports are from people who were not acquainted with the Hottentot language, and their attempts to reproduce the

strange clicks and other sounds were mostly by means of the letters of the Latin alphabet without the aid of new signs. One who knows the Nama language is still able to find his way in spite of the fact that their way of writing now bears the character of the Dutch, then the French and again the German spelling.

2. Dango or Damoh is evidently an attempt to spell the word //Gauab. //Gauab still represents an evil spirit amongst the Nama to-day. This name is used for "devil" in the Christian literature of the Nama. But it is not impossible that this name could have been the name of their God, as the Bergdama, who adopted the Hottentot language when they were their servants, still call the Supreme Being //Gamab, and the Bushmen of the Saan tribe who stand in close relation to the Hottentots, as far as physical structure and language are concerned, call God //Gaunab. It might be due to the influence of Christian ideas that the heathen god of the Hottentots was re-named "devil," which is quite in line with the missionary and generally Christian views of the time. But Khouron seems to be an attempt to write the Nama word !Khub in French spelling. This word means "Master" in its broadest sense, and it is still the common custom to call God by this name.

Tiqua, Tuqua, Tui-Lqua, Cukoab, etc., is nothing else but Tsui-//Goab, which to-day is still much used and well-known in exclamations and oaths. This word must be translated by "wounded knee," and reminds us of an old tribal hero, known by many African tribes, who was wounded in his knee in a struggle against an enemy. Huma evidently means the cloudless sky and Summa or Somsoma will then be the Shadow which they still fear to this day.

3. Out of this confusion of old reports the name Tsui-//Goab = wounded knee, needs special mentioning. Myth has made this tribal hero a god, probably attributing to him the qualities of //Gamab = the devil. He is ubiquitous and they take oaths by him, thereby signifying that they regard him as a moral being which averts evil; health and recovery of health are due to him, and when taken by sudden surprise they are accustomed to use his name in the form of the exclamation "Tsui-//Goatse!". Amongst the Koranna the tradition still is that Tsui-//Goab has been a renowned chief of their tribe.

On certain occasions Tsui-//Goab is worshipped openly. The prayers to him point out plainly that he is regarded as the God of the rain-giving clouds and of the food-producing fields.

If the rain stayed away for a long time they tried to bring it about magically by the following process. A cattle-owner would give a pregnant cow, which had never had a calf before, to be slaughtered. The blood was caught up and the meat cooked in large earthen pots. This being done the

owner of the cow would come up to the still blazing fire and pour both the meat-soup and the blood into it in order to extinguish it. Whilst doing this he would pray:—

My Tsui-//Goatse,
Let the clouds rain,
So that we can live joyfully;
Let the field-food grow,
So that we can find onions.

A long prayer which was said at similar occasions or was sung at their dances has been preserved by Th. Hahn and has the following wording more or less:—

Oh, Tsui-//Goab,
Thou, father of our fathers,
Thou, our father,
Let the clouds rain
That the herds may thrive,
That we may also thrive.
We have become so weak—
Weak from much of thirst,
Weak from much of hunger.
Let us roast field-food.
Thou are, aye, our father,
Our fathers' father;
Tsui-//Goab is they name.
That we may thank thee,
To thee our offers bring,
To thee, father of our fathers,
To thee, the most high,
To thee, oh Tsui-//Goab, thou.

It must be added that these same prayers, with almost the same wording without naming Tsui-//Goab are used by the Bergdama, when they pray to their father, as well as by the Bushmen of the Hei-//om tribe when approaching their god //Gauhab. This new hypothesis that Tsui-//Goab was originally not a divine being but has only become so later, the qualities of //Gauab having been attributed to him, who was afterwards regarded as the devil by them, seems to be noteworthy. It would, however, be very difficult to prove this as more than a mere probability.

4. Though the figure of Tsui-//Goab is endowed with a certain amount of sublimity and solemnity in the consciousness of the Nama, the same cannot be said of another famous mythical being called Heiseb.

Heiseb is said to have been an exceedingly clever Nama in a prehistoric time, who did miraculous things. He could change himself into different forms and was able to go through mountains when pursued, etc. Above all, he died more than once and, according to Nama belief, was resurrected. Various

graves of his are to be found in the Cape Colony as well as in Nama- and Hereroland. He who passes these graves, consisting of stones piled up along old native paths, must lay a stone, a twig or something to this description on the grave in salutation to him, lest he meet with an accident on his way. I was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stone, as Heiseb was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty. This curious incident instigated me to investigate this matter further as such heaps of stone, worshipped by all natives, are found in all parts of South West and what is more, their worship was even known at the Cape according to old reports. My study of the Bushmen probably brought me on the right track and the customs of the Ovambo indicate similar phenomena. Up to this day the Ovambo pile up the hard fruit of a certain tree on the boundaries of the territory they lay claim to, to serve as beacons which are respected everywhere.

Among the Tjimba I found that they demark their pastures at certain points of the boundary with heaps of stones. Unless all the information is fallacious, the Bushmen, who were the only inhabitants of South West in olden times, also knew this custom. They erected stone beacons at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, *i.e.*, where there were old paths. The implication of this for the strange hunter and gleaner was that all their activities within these boundaries would be regarded as robbery. It is not improbable that both the Ovambo and the Tjimba of the Kaokoveld took over this way of demarking their tribal boundaries from the Bushmen.

Afterwards when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, the Hottentots, Bergdama, Herero, etc., these boundary-marks appeared to them as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.

The myth now included these imposing tokens of love and called them Heitsi-eibeb, *i.e.*, place, where Heiseb lingers.

5. The moon plays a very great rôle in the Nama mythology. It was she who brought death to humanity by means of a wrong message. Up to then humanity had been immortal, but her words: "As I die and live again—new moon and waxing moon—so will ye also die and live again," were conveyed in a contrary sense by the hare. They expect the same things from the moon that they obtain by entreating Tsui-//Goab. Prayers were also sent up to her at the occasions of their moonlight dances. Similar dances of a religious character were also organised in the beginning of Spring when the Pleiades appeared. Now-a-days the prayers have

been done away with, the worship has ceased but the moonlight dances are still in vogue and are still regularly got up here and there.

The majority of the Nama have become Christians, taking a pride in being called Christians, more or less. Heathenism has been cast into oblivion to such an extent that the investigator can hardly expect any results from his researches even among the old heathens still left in out of the way places.

VI. Witchcraft and Superstition.

1. As is the case in all other religions, so also in the Nama religion does the worship go hand in hand with partly stable, partly ever-changing superstitious beliefs and customs. The skilled eye of the investigator will be able to discriminate between the two, and know how to keep these domains of religion and of superstition distinctly apart. In spite of the fact that these two are so closely related in the consciousness of the tribe, that the one always contains the other, yet the characteristic feature that a tribe forgets its religion and exchanges it for another, much more easily than it gives up its superstitions, will not go by unobserved. For this reason it is not to be wondered at that the reports about the hereditary religion of the Nama are very sparse and difficult to understand, whereas the superstitions can easily be investigated and related and that witchcraft is still in force, being indulged in secretly, reservedly, avoiding all publicity in one place or unashamedly and publicly in another, according to circumstances.

2. The Nama belief in immortality is hardly stronger than their fear of ghosts. Everywhere they relate of departed souls of olden as well as modern times, which have reappeared in some form or another.

No wonder that the heathens never laid out graves conjointly, but buried their dead somewhere in a solitary place and secured the grave with heavy stones. This does not only happen because they want to protect the corpse against being damaged by the animals of the desert, but actually also in order to prohibit them from rising up again.

Heiseb, who has already been mentioned, for this reason entreated his subjects to cover him up with "soft stones," when he died, as he had the intention of rising from the grave and would be impeded by "hard stones."

They regard many symptoms on the body of a dying person, or on the bodies of relatives, and above all, strange ways of behaviour among animals, as precursors of death.

3. He who treads on a grave, passes one unmindfully, or points at a grave with his finger has disturbed the rest of the dead and must expect his revenge. When the corpse of an acquaintance or a relative appears to one in a dream, he

has to exert himself to ward off approaching death by means of circumstantial ceremonies. Having performed these ceremonies secretly, only after a year may he relate this dream, as by then the time for its realisation will have expired, failing which he will be regarded as a murderer should the person die within that year and be treated accordingly. When the sheep get lost in the pastures, they know how to find them by lighting a certain root at the gate of the kraal, the flames showing the direction in which the sheep should be sought. He, who heedlessly stands in the shade of a bush called " the little heart-tree " is endangered by death until he has atoned for his disrespectful behaviour by burying a piece of cloth from his own dress, at the root of the tree.

4. It is clear that in these circumstances wizards and sooth-sayers would enjoy great personal attention, find favour and acquire riches especially in hard times; and up to the present time all sorts of wizards, who pretend to be able to ward off death and to cure animals by means of mysterious remedies, are still active among the Nama; they very seldom avail themselves of effective medicinal roots and shrubs for they have a very scanty knowledge of the medicinal plants of Namaland. The more mysterious is the hocus-pocus in which he wraps his unintelligible doings, the greater the wizard and the more firmly do they expect the wonderful effects! There is a definite way of practising witchcraft to reveal that which is still hidden in the dim future or is wrapt in the veil of the past; but it seldom happens that one comes on the track of old, original customs. What has been heard or seen among the Bushmen, Ovambo and also among the Malays and Mahomedans of the Cape Colony, is being practised and has its believers.

The wearing of various kinds of talismans is by no means uncommon, but one very seldom gets the impression that they are in any way connected with ancient beliefs or superstitions.

Fangs, beads, pieces of scaly skin, roots, fruits, etc., are regarded by them as serving to ward off diseases, to maintain health or to deliver them from evil. As a rule these things are worn at the breast on a thin leather strap; very often they are tied on painful parts of the body and are then simply called " Medicine."

When circumstances demand it they prepare these amulets themselves, but they have so little confidence in their own art that they would rather purchase them from the Ovambo, Herero, Bergdama and especially from the Bushmen.

VII. Manners and Customs.

1. A matrimonial engagement may take place in two ways. The parents of the young man either look for a suitable girl, get her parents' consent, have long and by no means enjoyable negotiations with relatives, decide upon the date for the

marriage and what should be contributed to the reception; or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying " yes " but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal " separation-period " sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no means that of the devoted servant of the man. According to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that

they frequently massage her. During the last months before the birth the young woman generally goes back to her mother. The older relatives of the mother function as midwives and are by no means inefficient. By rising too soon, however, the mother unfortunately exposes herself to danger and diseases among women are consequently not unusual. The christening lies in the hands of the father. In olden days every child received a Nama name reminiscent of the circumstances just antecedent or subsequent to the birth, but the Christian Nama have given up this custom, and Biblical and European names are very general lately. The midwife who assists at the birth often gets a present which consists of two goats when a boy is born; when a girl is born, this is reduced by half.

5. It is held that the adolescent girl will very soon be a help to her mother, and boys have to look after the herds from their very early youth. In this matter the school has to fight many a fight with the parents, who do not realise that, in order to make progress, the child has to attend classes regularly. The mother always regards it as more proper to employ the girl at home, and when a goat is lost, it is much more important to send the boy into the pastures to look for it than that he should attend school. But a change has taken place in this respect and the Nama now learn to understand that a regular attendance at class will be of importance to the child in later years.

6. When at the age of 12-14 years the first menstruation sets in with adolescent girls, the whole family celebrates the occasion. In a corner of the hut which is separated from the rest of the room by means of a curtain, the girl is isolated and adorned with all sorts of ornaments by the feminine members of the family. A festival day is appointed, and in families where old customs are still adhered to the girl is given fresh cows-milk to drink. The milk must come from a cow that has its first calf. If this cow does not die during the days of the menstruation or if she does not get ill, the girl is harmless. But if the cow should die it is proof that this girl possesses special powers, and she dare not drink milk from the herd again during the days of menstruation lest she imperil the herd.

Her menstrual blood is looked upon as effective poison which, when dry, they rub from the clothes and mix with hated people's food in order to kill them. The blood of the harmless girl on the other hand is used as medicine for sexual diseases amongst men.

7. The brothers and sisters call one another by their names. The parents are also accustomed to calling their children by their names unless they prefer to call the little sucklings "Little Father" or "Little Mother." But children are not allowed to call their parents or their parents' elderly relatives

by their names. In their communications they have titles of honour in accordance with the degree of relationship.

It might be mentioned here that the missionaries have succeeded in introducing family names which were unknown to the Nama before. These family names are derived from the Nama language, the heathen names of the grandfathers and great-grandfathers being changed into the family names of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Only the Orlam tribes have family names which were given to them by their masters in the Cape, *e.g.*, Teapot, Vlermuis, Afrikaner, etc., etc.

8. Their old national dress is very seldom worn. It consisted of home-dressed skins which were worn as aprons in front and at the back with a leather belt; and a large skin which served as a cloak and blanket and, twisted over the right shoulder and underneath the left arm, served as a bag for the gatherer of veld-kos.

At present both men and women go clad in European clothes. Coloured designs are preferred. While the Herero women have clung to the mode of dress introduced by the wives of missionaries 60 years ago, the Nama has not adopted any permanent national dress for the women and girls.

9. Instead of the old anointing of the body with fat, they have resorted to cleaning themselves with water and soap, although everywhere Nama, who regard the application of soap and water as detrimental to health, are still to be found.

The habit of the women to powder their bodies with "buchu" which they make for themselves by powdering a great variety of shrubs and roots, is still in vogue to-day, and there are still women who hideously paint their faces with a blackish red salve during the period of menstruation, or early pregnancy and on cold winter days.

10. The Nama is not miserly or avaricious. What he has in the form of food or other means of enjoyment he shares in the first place with his family and also with strangers.

To smoke alone or to eat a piece of bread which has been obtained accidentally is regarded as very unbecoming. Servants who labour for Europeans and receive their food there are wont to carry part of a special tit-bit home to share it with their people, unless the master, not knowing the Nama custom, should demand that all be eaten before his eyes so that his servants, for whom it is intended, may have the benefit of it and not strangers.

11. The Nama is decidedly inclined to sociability. It is his wont to squat or sit on a low chair near the fireside at night and to tell to the last details and discuss the news of the day; nor do they separate till very late in the night. The Christians like sitting round the fire at night untiringly singing their songs and hymns. They still take great pleasure in the Reed-dance on bright moonlight nights. On

such occasions the men provide music by means of flutes made of reeds and the women and girls perform old national dances, clapping their hands, singing, and stamping with their feet. Yet these nocturnal dances are not always harmless, for their feelings being aroused they lightly indulge in immoral excesses, and on the following morning squabbles of jealousy do not fail to arise.

12. The Nama does not enjoy robust health. The slender body, often weakened by dissoluteness and irregular food has no power of resistance. During the cold season they catch severe colds, and consumption and venereal diseases demand many victims. They hardly know how to nurse themselves when ill and often resort to ridiculous measures. For this reason they grow old very soon and at the age of fifty consider themselves senile. The nursing of people who are dangerously ill leaves much to be desired and when they have lost hope of recovery they leave off indulging hopelessly in hopeless nursing. Burial in a squatting position with a skin wrapped round the corpse, in a round grave $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres deep, in a lonely spot in the open fields is now only prevalent in far-off places, for the Christian way of burying has generally been adopted. They make a flat coffin of planks which they have picked up—or of cheap boxes—paint it black, enclose in it the corpse and sink the coffin into a grave in the graveyard for natives, which exists in all the larger towns. The grave is furnished with large rocks at its head and foot and is often neatly and tastefully covered with small stones. Well-to-do families erect on the grave a wooden cross with an epitaph; and cut stones with inscriptions on them are not uncommon; but they have not yet adopted the custom of looking after their graves. Before it became the custom to inter in coffins, a grave was dug with its deepest part resembling a coffin. Half-way it broadened out on both sides, on each of which a step was made. The corpse, wrapt in skins or blankets and laid flat on the ground, would then be covered with wooden poles on which the excavated earth was thrown, so as not to be in direct contact with the corpse. These three modes of burial are still all in vogue, reminding one of the old epoch, the transition period and the modern time with its interments conducted in the Christian and European way.

VIII. Language and Intellectual Life.

1. At the very first meeting of Europeans with the Hottentots of the Cape Colony the peculiarity of their language attracted attention and for a long time it was believed that it could not be learnt by adults. Dr. Ol. Dapper, whose book about South Africa was published in 1868, writes about it as follows: —

"De taal der Hottentotten is voor de Europeanen verdrietig te horen, onmogelijk te leren, en aan de Hollanders tot verder voortzetting van den Handel en uitvinding der landen zeer hinderlijk: want zij klappen met ieder woord, dat zij spreken, even als wanneer men met de vingers een knipslag maakte, zodat haar mond als een klap of zweep gaat, omdat zij met die tong overluid slaan, en ieder woord bijna een slag is."

Holsteiner, in his book of travels, says:

"Uit hare taal kan men nauwelijks horen dat zij menschelijk is: zij is schier als het geraas van de Calicutsche hanen."

Merklin, in his book of travels, adds:

"Zij klokken met hunne taal bijna als de Indiaansche hoenders."

Peter Kolbe, whose book was published in 1719, took a great deal of trouble to arrive at the secret of the Hottentot language. He made a contract with a Hottentot, promising him in writing that he would give him ten rix-dollars if he taught him the language; but, after the first lesson, both master and pupil were quite tired out. In connection with this he wrote:

"Ook verdroot het mij, wegens mijne kromme tong, liet hom gaan, na dat ik sijne moeite betaalt hadde. Wat mij aangaat, ik ben 't enemal van die gedachten, ja daar waar selfs een halve eeu verlopen, eer men een gedruksblad daar van zag, wilde men ook alle zijne moeite en arbeid alleen daar aan te koste leggen. . . . Genoemen, dat een vreemdeling deze taal in eenige jaren kan lezen. . . zo ontmoet te eerste deze zwarigheid zich weder, dat hij ze niet kan overzetten en vertalen. De oorzaak is, om dat zijn meester zelf met een kromme tong in die duitsche taal spreekt. Hij kan niet zeggen, dat hij op deze of gene wijze de tong moet dragen om deze of genen slag te doen. Indien hij hem zulks ook aanwijzt, zo heeft hij tog maar om zo te spreken, eene trap overwonnen, welke ten eersten weder van anderen gefolgt word, namelijk wanneer hij gade slaat, hoe dat hij alle slagen met die tong en met den mond, op 't nauwste bij zich zelven zal onderscheiden, om in 't vervolg bij aanroering der karakters of letters, die wederom een lange tijd, en een verder nadenken vereisschen, dezelve fijn onderscheiden, en aan den leergierigen aanwijzen zal. Die nu alle deze Zwarigheden nevens nog vele anderen, die onderweegs en midden in 't werk ontmoeten zullen, overkomt, en geen ander hulpmiddel heeft, gelijk en geen andere zijn, dan die hij van de Hottentotten hebben kan, die zal zeker niet meer zeggen, dat de taal van de Hottentotten licht is, maar hij zal zonder twijfel

een bedroeft klaaglied zingen, en vele zullen over de al te grote zwarigheden zodanig verschrikken, dat zij midden in 't werk zullen ophouden, en een ander ook overlaten zullen."

The description of all the authors of that time, who busied themselves with the problem of the Nama language tally with this one.

2. Since that time the Nama language has been specially investigated and written down by missionaries and the apparently insurmountable difficulties in learning the language have been overcome. To-day there is a series of dictionaries and grammar books of the language and Hottentots who read possess a small literature. They even buy a monthly periodical. It was principally the Rhenish Mission which, through its untiring efforts, has achieved such excellent results, that it can be said that, of all the dialects of the different Hottentot tribes, the Nama tribe and language have been studied best.

The difficulties experienced when one begins to study the language are due to the fact that the language possesses four clicks which are produced by pressing and snapping the tongue. If the organs of speech of the learner cannot adapt themselves to the production of these clicks even the most talented linguist will fail to give the idiom its correct pronunciation. But in spite of a well-articulated production of the peculiar sounds of this language one meets another threatening difficulty as one goes along, namely, the peculiar syntax of the language, which is utterly different from the rules of European languages, so that the rule followed generally with beginners of thinking in the mother-tongue and quickly translating the thought into the foreign language, cannot be adhered to in the case of the Nama language. If one cannot think in the Nama language, one will never be able to learn to speak it.

3. It is remarkable that the difficult clicks of the Nama can be produced with the same ease as any other sounds and that European children playing with Nama children often pick up the language more quickly than their mother-tongue. It is notable, too, that numerous Bantu tribes have taken over clicks into their Bantu language. This indeed happened (according to the recent researches of Prof. C. Meinhoff) by the adoption of a whole Nama word which then became Bantu in its pronunciation and spelling, the click remaining unchanged.

4. In connection with the dialects of the Hottentots of the Cape Colony some notes made in the earlier days are available. The library of Sir George Grey especially contains many valuable manuscripts. When one examines these old documents and compares them with Nama that is still spoken, one receives the impression that these dialects are so

differentiated as really to be regarded as separate languages, until after closer examination one discovers that these differences are due to the inexpert and various attempts at spelling the words. It must also be mentioned that the Nama language contains quite a number of words of Arabic origin, to which philology has not yet devoted enough attention.

5. If the mental disposition of the Nama can be judged from the language and its grammatical construction as well as the syntax, then the Nama language indicates a certain mental alertness and quickness of thought. This conclusion drawn from an examination of the language does not deceive us when we examine Nama thought and mental activity more closely. Mentally this tribe is decidedly the most active and most capable of development ol all the tribes in South Africa.

Almost sixty years ago the investigator Bleek, assisted by missionaries, compiled a volume of interesting animal fables treating mostly of the jackal and showing his clever superiority to the other animals of the fields in all possible situations. That these fables, evidently rooted in the European fable-cycle of Reynard, the Fox, have become so popular with the Nama and have inspired them to compose their own works of fiction, has certainly not been incorrectly interpreted as revealing a mental disposition in the Nama which is similar to the cunning of the jackal.

Prof. Dr. Schultze completed a compilation of their literary products in his detailed work on " Namaland and Kalahari "; but the whole store of fables and stories has by no means been collected by these two. I myself have collected and possess about a hundred unpublished fables.

6. The Nama have also attempted to write poetry. The old prayers for rain which have already been cited indicate a disposition to poetic productions and there is hardly any domestic or wild animal which the Nama has not sung of. A Nama teacher surprised the Teachers' Conference of last year with a large collection of anthems he had composed, some of which are worth publishing. For this conference of teachers all of them had received agenda papers and the way in which most of them had approached the problems and publicly expressed their thoughts was surprising.

7. Musically the Nama has always been highly talented. The possession of a musical instrument is appreciated more than the possession of money. The women and girls have often got specially beautiful voices. Their community-song for four voices, with trumpet accompaniment, could compete very favourably with the music at European church festivals. I had a Nama boy in my training college who passionately devoted himself to playing the harmonium. Before then he had never had an opportunity of learning the harmonium. According to the rules of the house every pupil of the institution had to go to rest at 9 o'clock every night. The har-

monium enthusiast, however, did not care for that and continued playing up to midnight. When this was prohibited as against the rules of the house, he answered that he did not know that they were not allowed to study after nine o'clock. One night after that he was found at the harmonium at two o'clock in the morning and excused himself by saying that the rules of the house, which he was willing to abide by, did not stipulate at what time of the morning a pupil could begin to study! In four months' time he had made so much progress in playing the harmonium that he accompanied the hymns in the community services.

8. Many of the young people also show aptitude in the art of painting. A grandson of the notorious Hendrik Witbooi painted two ostriches with such a typically African background in coloured chalk on the board for his final examination after three years' preparation for the profession of teacher, that even the Government Inspector was amazed. Thus, the results of the mental development of the Nama, clearly perceptible to-day, show that the trouble and pains bestowed on them bear fruit; and nothing is more erroneous than to imagine the Hottentots are mentally one of the most primitive races. In the political economy of South-West Africa their weakly physique will play a very small part however; but for work which does not exact much bodily strength but requires intelligence the Nama will in the future be preferred to other natives.

IX. Usage and Laws.

The Chief with councillors and magistrate is the representative of the law. The last named is his right hand in all public and legal matters. Under normal circumstances the son inherits the chieftainship from his father. In times of peace the powers of the Chief are very limited. Without having consulted a mass meeting and without the decision of the councillors the instructions of a chief are of very little consequence. The form of government of a chieftainship is altogether democratic. Within this democratic frame, however, the Chief rules like a patriarch. This state of affairs is radically changed during war. If a war breaks out the Chief becomes dictator.

The councillors are elected at a mass meeting, and at the same time function as judges. Decisions by them are regarded as laws by the tribe and their sentences, passed under the presidency of the eldest among them, are executed. There is no appeal to a higher court. Only in cases where there is no consensus of opinion among the judges with regard to the passing of a sentence is the matter referred to the Chief whose casting vote then settles the question finally.

2. As the Nama possess a very fine sense of justice and injustice, legal disputes are not at all uncommon. But since

South West has become a colony and a mandated territory, confidence in their own jurisdiction has decreased even where it has been left in their hands. They do not regard their own judges as impartial enough to administer justice to the complainant or accused. This is no wonder! As a result of their close cohabitation it is very difficult for a judge to administer justice quite regardless of the person and his property.

3. In earlier days and in some tribal unions still to-day the procedure in a law-suit is as follows: The complainant lodges his complaint with the magistrate who at the same time exercises the powers of a policeman. The magistrate then summons the judges; and the complainant and accused are summoned by messengers. The sitting takes place in the open as a rule. The complainant has to provide sufficient food for the judges as long as they sit. Generally he delivers some goats in advance in payment of the legal expenses. If the accused is unwilling to appear he is brought by force by strong men duly authorised in such circumstances. The complainant as well as the accused stand at a distance from the place where the court is held or squat down on the ground till they are called. The summoned witnesses also remain within a reasonable distance. The magistrate then lays the case before them. The eldest person amongst the judges, who is chairman, then gives the complainant the word. Thereupon the accused is heard. Care is taken that only one person speaks at a time; for the rest absolute freedom prevails. If the case has been sufficiently investigated the complainant and the accused together with the witnesses have to withdraw. The judgment is passed unanimously when possible and pronounced by the chairman. If punishment is to be inflicted it is executed at once and the accused has to replace the goats paid for expenses by the complainant.

4. The methods of punishment in olden days were: Death, executed in many ways according to the nature of crime. He, who had slain someone, was beaten to death with clubs and sticks. When one had shot another, he also was shot. Other sentences were: Fines, payable in goats; corporal punishment in the form of flogging or branding and, lastly, confiscation of property or the declaration of such people, who have been found to be a danger to the public, as of unsound mind. These were then outlawed and could be done away with, without being punished. To-day a sentence of death can only be passed by the Government and duly constituted law-courts. Punishment among the Nama to-day is confined to flogging, fines and fees payable in goats.

5. Rules for the degrees of punishment were never, and have not yet been, definitely fixed. Nevertheless no rule was allowed to be broken within certain boundaries. The confirmed cattle-thief had to expect harder punishment at each conviction and these were usually meted out in the form of

cuts with a stick until ultimately, in the olden days, the death sentence was decided upon. At the present time, the matter is then referred to the law-courts. In the case of corporal punishment the sentence was usually based on the principle of: Eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth—unless the parties agreed upon another form of indemnity. Murder, high treason, attempted murder of the chief and incest were always punished with death according to the deposition of the old people. For the execution of corporal punishment a bailiff was appointed and fines were collected by the magistrate.

6. Generally they regard disrespectful behaviour towards the old, murder, homicide, bodily injury, theft, illegitimate impregnation and treason as punishable offences.

Lies and perjury are also deemed improper, but are not subject to legal punishment. In the same way adultery is not punishable. Incest becomes a case for the law only when the father refuses to be responsible for the sustenance of the child during its first years, namely, the time when it needs the nursing of the mother. As soon as the child is five years of age, the father takes it and the payments, which as a rule were in cattle and to-day are in money, cease.

It cannot, however, be said that these forms are valid everywhere where there are still unbroken Nama tribes ruled by a chief; and although they still know their old laws, they do not avail themselves of them in every case.

7. The proprietary rights of the old Nama were not extensive, and those of the present generation are still more limited as a result of the fact that they hardly possess any lands. Generally speaking we may say that the individual possesses nothing but is the usufructuary of what the family possesses. This even includes clothes and things for daily use.

Under personal property one understands the possession of cattle. A child even may receive one or more goats from his father and he uses their milk. He has the right to milk such goats without permission and their progeny are his property. Where natural conditions make it possible every person—man, wife, child—possess a few goats, sheep or even cattle. When these are to be sold it becomes manifest that this personal property continues to be regarded as family property, because in such cases, the whole family and not the individual decides whether there should be a sale or not.

The land or their tribal territory can under no circumstances become the property of an individual, neither is it the property of the chief. He has not got the right to dispose of or to give away anything of the territory which, in all respects, is regarded as common tribal property, unless the money received be divided amongst the families of the tribe, after they have consented to such a sale. The boundaries of a tribal territory, however, are not fixed. All lands and grounds where members of a tribe have previously grazed

their herds or lived, are regarded as territory of the tribe. At present these disputes do not occur any more since tribal possession of land has ceased to exist and reserves have been granted to individual tribes as usufruct and not as property. Consequently it is of no further interest to consider these old rights. They had rights of pasturage, honey, hunting, springs and water, etc., but these have ceased to exist. The Administration fixes legal boundaries for their reserves.

8. The facts with reference to hereditary rights are, however, quite different, for up to now the legislation of the Administration has not tampered with the rights of inheritance among the Nama—a fact which is very pleasing. As has been said, the chieftainship is inherited from the father by the eldest son. In case the chief has no sons, the sons of the eldest brother of the chief are the nearest relations entitled to the inheritance. The children inherit everything from their parents, the heritage being divided equally amongst the sons and daughters and the eldest son is regarded as the administrator of the estate under the supervision of the eldest living brother of the father.

If the children are still under age and the grandparents are still alive, then they act on behalf of the guardian and take the orphans and their heritage to themselves. When childless parents die, their parents take possession of their estate. When they also are dead, the chief divides the estate among the relatives, the following order being observed: the eldest sister of the husband, the brothers of the father of the late man, the sisters of the father, the sisters of the mother, the children of the brothers of the deceased, the children of the remaining sisters of the deceased, the children of his mother's sisters.

Illegitimate children of the man are entitled to an inheritance just as the other children. Illegitimate children of the mother have no claim to the inheritance as they belong to their father's family, who was obliged to support them in their first years and had taken care of them after that.

They could only depart from this law of inheritance on the oral testimony of the testator arranging it. They usually abided conscientiously by such stipulations in reverence for the deceased; and fear that the deceased might take revenge for their not complying with the stipulations of his will played no part in it.

X. Civilisation and Modern Times.

The nomadic Nama tribes had already been affected by European civilisation from three different sides a hundred years ago. There were the Orlam tribes who immigrated gradually towards the beginning of last century, then the hunters and traders who travelled through the country and lastly the missionaries. It might seem strange that the

immigration of the Orlam tribes is also cited as a civilising factor, but it must be remembered that many of the Orlam had already been in close contact with Europeans in the Cape Colony; that some of them could read and write; that many of them had been under the influence of missionaries; that they were already used to European clothing, and above all knew how to use firearms, which gave them a considerable predominance over the old resident tribes.

The first conflict had to take place with the Orlam and terminated in the Orlam tribe of the Afrikaner (who had been called to their help by the chief of the old tribes of the country) gaining the supreme rule and exercising a profound influence which, however, was not always beneficial.

2. The old hunters, representatives of civilised nations, did not indulge in civilising work! By them the rich game supplies were reduced to such an extent that elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses, etc., are now looked for in vain in Namaland. In spite of this they did not have to cope with many difficulties among the Nama tribes. On the whole the Nama regarded them as friends. What is more, it was to their temporary advantage to be able to fill their pots without any effort when big game was shot. Then they—children of the moment—never thought of the coming devastation of their hunting areas. For all that it can still be said that the representative of a higher civilisation, no matter how he acts among uncivilised tribes, must be estimated as a civilising factor, even though it be only by virtue of his appearance. He rouses impulses and stimulates the will to strive after a higher civilisation.

The traders of those times often complained of the unfriendly attitude which they experienced on their commercial travels. They brought clothing materials and clothes into the country, the old skin clothes disappeared gradually and the Nama who respected himself went about in European clothes.

Unfortunately they also brought alcohol into the country and supplied the robber-tribes with rifles, lead and gunpowder. As they gave credit to their purchasers the collecting of the heavy debts caused many difficulties and the advice of some unprincipled tradesmen to pay them with cattle robbed from the Herero did not promote peaceful terms with their northern neighbours. In spite of this these commercial travellers should not be forgotten when the civilising influences which have affected the Nama are named.

3. All praise is due to the Mission for rendering the greatest services to the Nama both as mediator and bearer of civilisation. As early as 1805 the Evangelic Mission started its work at Warmbad among the Bondelzwarts who had up to then led a nomadic life, crossing then to the one and then to the other side of the Orange River. In judging the

civilising work of the mission it must be borne in mind that it had to deal with a nomadic tribe, and to make such a tribe amenable to civilisation, means solving the gigantic problem of getting a nomadic tribe to settle down permanently.

To do so J. H. Schmelen crossed the Orange River in 1815 with his people to settle at the spring in Bethanie; but his first attempt to keep them here did not succeed. To-day, however, Bethanie has its own population and is still a mission station. In 1850 the missionary Knudsen attempted to settle another tribe at Guldbrandsdalen after a good rainy year, but his attempt failed too. But round the spring at Broekkaross the station Berseba was successfully founded where those same people gathered and where their progeny still stays to-day. It was the mission that kept this tribe in Gibeon where it still is to-day.

So, gradually, missionary stations arose all over Namaland. In 1866 Keetmanshoop got a missionary. In 1856 Gobabis was founded. In 1853 the first missionary settled among the Red Nation at Hoachanas. Attempts were also made to bring about a moral way of living among the Afrikaners at Windhoek; but the attempt failed and the tribe was ruined.

The missionary station with its church and school in course of time became the centre of the individual tribes. Times of progress were followed by times of degradation. The nomadic tendency often manifested itself and often the missionary saw his community disappearing in all directions especially in dry years. But they gathered round him again and so his community remained intact. The mission has been reproached because it did not educate the Nama to work, etc.; but people seem to forget that if they are to be educated to work in a European sense, there must be a working potentiality, and these potentialities failed everywhere. Where there were arable ground and water they introduced gardening, but everyone knows how many difficulties gardening involves in South West, especially in dry Namaland.

4. At the right time, just when the tribes had been domiciled to a certain extent by the mission, the occupation of the country by the German Empire set in, and colonisation of the country by white farmers began. The travelling traders became less and less and stores began to be opened in the townships and transport-drivers conveyed goods to far-off places. The Nama had opportunities to work now, but unfortunately had no willingness to work. For the recently settled Nama never had had to work in the European sense and consequently were not accustomed to continual exertion and were averse from it. Nevertheless many of the Nama became expert drivers, achieving surprising things with their 5 metres-long ox-whip; others became herdsmen and others domestic servants of the whites. The breaking out of the

Nama war afterwards, which caused such heavy losses on both fighting sides cannot be regarded as a revolt against civilisation. The chiefs had sold extensive portions of their pastures; farmers had settled at the best waters; the hunting areas were ruined; the common man felt himself specially restricted and the chiefs and councillors felt that the scope of their powers was narrowed. The policy of the Government representatives to treat the chiefs with marked distinction whenever opportunity offered did not alter things at all. Seeds of discontent gathered and, when a spark fell, the fire of war blazed up.

5. These times belong to the past. More than the Herero, has the Nama perceived that the Wheel of Fate does not allow itself to be turned back by force. Great reserves have been allotted to loyal tribes, the old and those unable to work, by the German and Mandated Governments, and these territories are inalienable. The strong and healthy have good opportunities for work and for earning their bread all over Namaland. As formerly the mission still sees to the maintenance of the community life and the cultivation and development of their inner life. What a community in Namaland implies is only known to him who has studied the old history of that tribe without community life.

More than 12,000 members of the Nama tribe have already become members of the Christian communities. The youth are educated in numerous schools, and although they have no compulsory education, yet they have made notable progress. The Government supports these missionary schools in such a way as was impossible for the Missionary Associations. The Government further has these Nama schools inspected by its inspectors and supports the work of training and developing the native teaching staff.

6. Only we must not expect too much. A nomadic tribe cannot be changed to a civilised nation within the short period of one century full of wars and cries of war. Yet the Nama is proof of the fact that loyal and uninterrupted work in this direction is not futile!

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THE HERERO.

BY

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(Translated in the Offices of the Administration, South West Africa.)

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THE HERERO.

I. Ancient History of the Tribe.

1. *Territory of the Tribe.*

The boundaries of the ancient territory of the Hereros in South West Africa were never definitely fixed. The Ugab River was generally regarded as the northern boundary, while the Swakop and the White Nossob were taken to be the southern boundary. To the east of the line Waterberg-White Nossob there lived a tribe related to the Hereros, the *Mbanderu*. To the north of Ugab, however, in the Kaokoveld, lies the original home of the Tjimba. These are impoverished Hereros who did not find it a paying proposition to follow the more opulent Hereros on their former nomadic migrations with their less numerous cattle.

2. *Composition.*

If mention is only made of the Hereros in the following lines, the related tribes of the *Mbanderu* and Tjimba are also included; for these two branches of the Herero people did not follow a distinct line of development. Where peculiarities are to be noted, this is done by distinctly mentioning the special name.

3. *Derivation of the Tribal Names.*

The Hereros are not quite unanimous in the explanation of the derivation of their name. The derivation from the verb okuhera (=to brandish the assegai like a victorious warrior at the war dance) is the most appropriate one. A Mbanderu gave me the following explanation: "Many years ago the Mbanderu left their ancient haunts and migrated to the south of the Kunene through the Omaneke between the Kaokoveld and Ovamboland towards the east in search of new pasture-lands for their cattle. At that time the Hereros were already living in the Kaokoveld. But they also migrated. Attracted by the numerous cattle of the Mbanderu the Hereros attacked the former, killed many of them, and took away their cattle. A considerable time after this occurrence the stragglers of the Mbanderu came. They found their slain fellow-tribesmen, asked who had killed them and received the rather vague reply: 'Ova-erero!' that is 'the people of yesterday.'" From this reply the tribal name Ova-Herero was derived.

The Mbanderu on the other hand derive their tribal name from the verb *okurua* (=to fight): "Fighters of former

times." The *Tjimba* of the Kaokoveld call themselves Hereros. The name Tjimba is, however, ironically given to them by the Ovambo and the Herero proper. When I asked the Chief Tjiute of Kaoko-Otavi what this name means, he gave the following explanation: "Ondjumba in our language means the tamandua. We have no large herds of cattle to give us subsistence, but we very often have to dig our food out of the ground, as the tamandua does. Hence the name 'tamanduas' was given to us." The tamandua is called "Ondjimba" in the Herero language. The derivation *Omutjimba* from "Ondjimba" is admissible philologically and this explanation is, therefore, acceptable.

4. *Number.*

There probably are 25,000 Herero, 3,000 Mbanderu and 5,000 Tjimba at the present time. One would not be wrong in assuming that in ancient times they were double this number. The causes of the diminution in numbers will appear from the following historical sketch.

5. *Ancient History.*

The Hereros with their coffee-coloured complexion, their tall, stately physique, their distinguished demeanour, their fine features, differ too much from the negro-type to warrant our including them in the negro race without further investigation. The supposition has often been expressed that they might belong to the Hamite tribes of North Africa. If this be the case, this tribe must have emigrated thence in prehistoric times and have intermingled with negro tribes in Central Africa and have come to the south of Africa after long nomadic migrations. Presumably the ancestors of the Hereros for a considerable time lived in the regions of the Central African lakes. Not only do philological investigations point to this fact, but vague recollections which have been handed down in the form of legends amongst the Hereros as well. From the lake districts they seem to have migrated with their herds in a westerly direction through South Angola, until arrival at the shores of the Atlantic Ocean compelled them to turn to the south. They crossed the Kunene and migrated into the Kaokoveld, but rich owners of large herds as they were, they did not stay there a very long time. Although the exact spots where the herds of the rich Hereros formerly grazed may even to-day be pointed out by the Tjimba of the Kaokoveld, their sojourn there can have been of short duration only. This may be gleaned from the traditions which are connected with the genealogical tree of the aristocratic families, for as the Hereros are worshippers of their ancestors, it is of importance to them to keep in memory the names of their ancestors as also their graves. If the name is forgotten no invocation in prayer is possible. If the grave is forgotten, the invocation is without effect, as the prayer can

only be efficacious if uttered at the graveside or in the direction of the grave. But accurate investigation has shown that the graves of the ancestors of about eight generations lie to the north of the present Hereroland and that only a few ancestral graves of tribes which have migrated to the south are to be found in the Kaokoveld. One would hardly be wrong in assuming that immigration into the Kaokoveld took place at about the year 1700 and that the first immigration into the present Hereroland commenced fifty years later.

The Tjimba of the Kaokoveld even to-day regard quite a number of Bantu tribes, living to the north of the Kunene, as related tribes and maintain that their religion, language and customs are the same as theirs. Some of these tribes, they say, have changed their language in the course of years. The following tribes were mentioned to me as such related tribes: The Ovangambue, Ovangumbi, Ovandjondi, Ovanguvare, Ovanona, Ovangoroka, Ovahakaona, Ovatjerenge, Ovakakuu, Ovakarundu, Ovakarunga and Ovatjiku. Some of these tribes, they say, also crossed the Kunene in ancient times, but when the Hottentot tribes coming from the south raided most of their cattle, they returned to the north.

6. *Previous History.*

When the Huguenot Jakobus Coetsee crossed the Orange River in the year 1760 with twelve Hottentots for the purpose of hunting in Namaland, which was then rich in game, he heard of the Damroguas who were supposed to be stationed with their cattle ten days' journey further north. By these Damroguas the Hereros are apparently meant; the Hottentots called them *Dama.*

Willem van Reenen brought further information about the Herero in the year 1791. He penetrated as far as Rehoboth. His companion, Pieter Brand, who came as far as Windhoek, reported that he had met the *Gomaka Damaras* there. This name is also taken from the language of the Hottentots who called the Hereros "Gomacha Dama," *i.e.*, "Damaras rich in cattle" in contradistinction to the Bergdamaras.

Captain Sebastian van Reenen who tried to penetrate into Hereroland from Walvis Bay in 1793 in order to inaugurate a cattle export trade to St. Helena found the Hereros in the Swakop Valley. No commercial relations were, however, entered into, for the Hereros valued the possession of cattle above all other possessions even at that time and did not care to part with them for money or merchandise, which, as yet, they did not require.

7. *History of the Hereros.*

Missionary Schmelen, a German, sent out by the London Mission, was the first European to penetrate into the heart of Hereroland. Coming from Namaland he undertook a journey of exploration to the north. On this journey he came to

Okahandja *via* Windhoek, the capital of one of the most important Herero tribes. The place was later called Schmelenshoop after him, but the name was not retained.

In the year 1830 the Herero came in touch with a man who was to bring fear and terror into all their settlements throughout a generation. This was Jonker Afrikaner. This was a Hottentot who had emigrated from Cape Colony and had been called by some Nama tribes to succour them, as Jonker owned rifles and a strong fighting force. He gained the supremacy amongst the Nama tribes and in 1830 drove the Hereros from Windhoek, their southmost settlement. Animated by the idea that the Promised Land was lying to the north, he made up his mind to conquer it and to found a kingdom there which was to be established entirely in accordance with his phantastic plans. He held the conviction that only the Hereros stood in the way of achieving his purpose and that these had consequently to be exterminated. In 1842 the Missionary Hugo Hahn came to his tribe in Windhoek and was received kindly by him, as he was sent by the Rev. Schmelen. For some time it seemed as if the preaching and the activity of the missionary would be able to curb the wild passions of Jonker and a formal treaty of peace was actually concluded with the Hereros. But as early as two years after he had commenced his good work Rev. Hahn had to depart and to leave Windhoek. He settled at Otjikango amongst the Hereros, learned their language, gathered all sorts of poor and afflicted people around him, was recognised by the chiefs of the Hereros as being of equal rank with themselves, introduced jurisdiction, established an open market, and waited for fifteen years for the first Herero to be converted to Christianity.

Meanwhile Jonker had broken the treaty of peace, attacked the Hereros, driven away as much of their cattle as he could get hold of, and caused a terrible massacre amongst the inhabitants of Okahandja in the year 1850.

As Tjamuaka the Chief of Okahandja suffered no other chiefs besides himself, he became a traitor to his own people, for not only did he destroy some of the chieftainships in order to secure grazing for his own cattle but actually voluntarily joined the oppressor Jonker and drove to him the cattle which the latter extorted from the Hereros. Thus the tribe of Tjamuaka was regarded as a vassal of Jonker. The reward consisted in sparing the cattle of Tjamuaka. In order to enable him, however, to protect the herds of Jonker the latter supplied the submissive Tjamuaka with a number of rifles, which action later became disastrous to the Hottentots. At Windhoek Jonker took up with some traders who supplied him plentifully with brandy and made him pay in oxen for this and for other merchandise. Jonker thus incurred heavy debts for he possessed nothing and the Hereros had to furnish means to pay his debts to the traders—and the raiding of

cattle continued. Ultimately, Jonker considered it more expedient to remove his residence from Windhoek to Okahandja, so as to be nearer the riches of the Hereros. Jonker died in Okahandja on the 18th of August, 1861. A small stone cairn to the present day marks the grave of the man who was rightly called the "Napoleon of the South." His insignificant son, Christian Afrikaner succeeded him.

Tjamuaka had died in 1859. His energetic son and successor was Maharero, who determined to submit to the domination of the Hottentots no longer. He tied Christian to the wheel of an ox wagon and gave orders that all available Hereros had to ensconce themselves on a suitable mountain to the east of Okahandja. The Herero chief, Philip of Otjimbingue, came with his men and took him to Otjimbingue which had become a mission station in the meantime.

Christian Afrikaner did not venture to attack Maharero before he had collected all the military forces of the Hottentots. These came from Namaland to catch "the dogs of Jonker" and to subdue them. On the 15th of June, 1863, a decisive battle was fought at Otjimbingue. Although the Hottentots were numerically superior, they were defeated and more than 200 Namas remained on the battlefield. The losses of the Hereros were very slight, as they found good cover behind the buildings of the mission station. The chief, Christian, was also killed and Jan Jonker, his brother, became his successor.

The following years were years of war. Endless raids, bloodshed now here now there, fights from one end to the other in which the Namas were weakened to a greater or lesser extent, filled a period of seven long years. At last no more cattle were obtainable from the Hereros, as their cattle were sent as far north as possible to save them from the hands of the Hottentots whose larders thus remained empty and they began to starve. A desire for peace arose and Jan Jonker, the Nama chief, requested Dr. Hahn to negotiate it. As the mission had meanwhile become a power amongst the Hereros the word of the leading missionary had some influence and Maharero declared that, as far as he was concerned, he did not need peace, but, if the Hottentots were preparel to conclude peace, he would meet them. Consequently the peace of Okahandja was concluded in the year 1870 through the mediation of the missionaries. In accordance with this treaty Windhoek was ceded to the Namas, the Hereros retaining the right of ownership and after this there followed a breathing space of ten years. The Mission made use of this time of peace to spread a net of mission stations over Hereroland They brought into the country colonists from Germany and the first European settlement was established in Otjimbingue. A wagonmaker, gunmaker, smith, wheelwright, farmer, and merchant were to accustom the indolent Hereros to regular

work and at the same time the social life of the colonists was to give the Hereros an example of a Christian congregation.

During the period 1870 to 1880 the Hereros were disquieted by strange rumours, for they heard that the Boers, dissatisfied with conditions in Cape Colony, were anxious to look for a new home and that they intended to conquer South West Africa for that purpose. This induced a number of influential chiefs to request the Government of Cape Colony to take them under their protection. To that end a Government commissioner, Mr. Palgrave, was sent to South-West by the Cape Government. He concluded defensive and offensive alliances with many chiefs to submit to Parliament, hoping to achieve thereby that South West Africa be placed under the suzerainty and protection of Cape Colony; but Parliament did not accede to the request of the chiefs, regarding the enterprise too purposeless and too expensive.

Just as Mr. Palgrave was attending a meeting of the Nama chiefs at Gobabis in the year 1880 after the alliances had already been signed, Maharero received news that the 1,500 oxen he had destined for the funeral repast in case of his death had been stolen by the Hottentots. In his fury he immediately gave orders that all Namas in Okahandja and in the whole of Hereroland should be mercilessly murdered. A terrible massacre resulted. This was the signal for fresh fights which filled the period 1880 to 1894. In one of the first battles the son of Maharero, Wilhelm, who was a Christian and had been trained as a teacher and exercised considerable influence, was slain. Chief Moses Witbooi especially distinguished himself on the side of the Namas and so gained the leading position which Jan Jonker of the tribe of Afrikaner had held up to that time.

This was the position in South West Africa when the German flag was hoisted in Luderitzbucht on the 6th of August, 1884. Mr. W. C. Palgrave had retired to Walvis Bay when hostilities broke out, and on the 12th of March, 1878, the British flag was hoisted at Walvis Bay, fifteen English miles in circumference thereby being proclaimed British territory. Neither England nor the Cape Parliament attached any value to the possession of South West. In 1882 the Cape Government deputed the missionary Hugo Hahn, then holding the position of pastor of the German congregation in Cape Town, to South West as mediator. He succeeded in bringing about peace which, however, lasted but a short time.

The hoisting of the German flag in Luderitzbucht by which the possessions in Angra Pequena of the merchant Luderitz, of Bremen, were brought under German suzerainty was followed by treaties with the Nama and Herero chiefs. The Hereros especially hoped to be safeguarded against the depredations and attacks of the Namas, and in order to carry this

A Headman of the Tjimba-Hereroes, living at Kaoko-Otavi.

A typical Herero woman of the Ovito Reserve arrayed in the old national costume, now only worn on special occasions.

into effect and to be able to keep the two nations apart in an amicable manner, the German Colonial Office stationed a small military force as a buffer between the two nations at Windhoek.

Hendrik Witbooi, the successor of Moses Witbooi, however, did not conclude a treaty with the Government and thus had two opponents—the Hereros on the one hand and the German Government on the other hand. Hendrik not wishing to fight two enemies concluded peace with the Hereros in 1892 and ensconced himself in inaccessible mountains; but was subdued by the German force, remained Chief of Gibeon and remained quiet till 1903.

During this period of peace (1894 to 1903) the German Government tried to develop the country and the railway from Swakopmund to Windhoek was built. German merchants established themselves at fixed localities. Samuel Maharero who had succeeded his father Maharero as chief after the death of the latter in 1890 was proclaimed paramount chief of the whole tribe, and farms and portions of land were purchased from him. The land proving suitable for settlement more and more farms and localities with water passed into the hands of the white man. Those Hereros who possessed herds of cattle grumbled, but Samuel Maharero was in want of money and sold more land, secretly informing the dissatisfied ones that he would bring back all the ceded territory into the possession of the people.

In 1903 Hendrik Witbooi having broken the treaty of submission, the small German military force had to be sent to Namaland in order to restore peace. Hereroland being completely denuded of troops, Samuel Maharero considered that his time had come, and in January, 1904, he gave secret orders for the murder of all German farmers, traders and settlers within reach, but women and children were to be spared. More than 150 Germans lost their lives during those days, which were the beginning of the Herero war, lasting from 1904 to 1907, and ending in the downfall of the Herero people.

The Hereros, driven from the fixed localities, congregated with their cattle at Waterberg, where they awaited the German troops. A decisive battle was fought on the 11th and 12th of August, 1905. The Hereros broke through the surrounding troops towards the east and got into the waterless desert of Omaheke, where many of them perished, while Samuel Maharero traversed the desert with his men to Union territory. Single and straggling groups of Hereros were pursued and disbanded by the German soldiers and many prisoners taken, the troops bringing 3,000 Herero prisoners-of-war from the field. The missionaries of the Rhenish Mission, who had laboured for so many years amongst the Hereros and had gained their confidence, undertook the work

of gathering them together again. With the support of the Government they established three concentration camps and gathered together an additional number of about 12,000 Hereros, all of whom were then distributed over the country as labourers. The chieftaincies were abolished. Now there were only Herero labourers, for the Herero nation existed no longer, and strict, but just, laws regulated native affairs.

The Hereros having been liberated, and after they had gradually obtained permission to move about freely, went back to their former dwelling places and searched for work there. Many of them became farm-labourers, as their liking for cattle and their experience in cattle-rearing suited them for farm labourers, who were in great demand, and others were employed by traders and artisans. The compulsion to work was not regarded as an injustice, for having lost their former possessions of cattle they realised the necessity to earn their living by manual labour. The loss of cattle also made itself felt in another direction. The old custom of worshipping their ancestors entirely depended on the possession of cattle. Now that nobody possessed any cattle, it was impossible to worship the ancestors in the customary way. The Hereros consequently adopted Christianity *en masse*, especially since the rigid discipline of the congregations served as a substitute for their broken tribal discipline. The congregations flourished and itinerant preachers, paid by the Mission, migrated from farm to farm in order to enable the farm labourers to keep in touch with the congregations of the larger centres and the congregations almost reached the stage of financial independence by the regular contributions which were freely given.

It was then that the World War broke out. The fact that again there was war resuscitated the vanished recollections of war in the Hereros. When the Union troops occupied one locality after the other in South West, and when the Hereros were promised that the yoke of German domination would be taken from them, they were fully alive to the course of events. At the conclusion of peace at Korab in 1915, South West was handed over to the Administration of the Union. The Hereros eagerly watched coming events. Lord Buxton, the Governor-General of the Union, visited South West Africa. He addressed the natives at all important centres and on each occasion promised the Hereros the old freedom along with great possessions of land and unlimited herds of cattle. That was all they longed for. They laid down their work on many farms in order to make sure of being in time, when South West should be partitioned. A great confusion ensued. Everyone who could acquire cattle by hook or by crook did so. But the partitioning of the country was not effected in the way the Hereros expected. The Reserves set aside for the aged and those incapacitated for work, were not as extensive as had been expected. The farmers, moreover, remained on

their farms and other farmers arrived. This was not expected either. The words of the High Commissioner had been wrongly interpreted without further thought as to the feasibility of the realisation of the fantastic interpretations.

At this critical time, before matters had been re-settled, American apostles of freedom, supported by an emissary from Cape Province, appeared in South West. Their seed fell on well tilled soil. Garvey suddenly became the man of the day. Many Hereros joined an association which collected considerable funds with the object of giving back " Africa to the Africans," and to drive all Europeans out of the country. The personal assessment went so far that many a Herero paid a yearly contribution of £2, and more, for the consummation of the common object. The ships of Garvey were expected with the greatest eagerness. These failing to arrive, his airship was expected! Again disappointed, it gradually dawned upon them that they had been deceived. Thus it came about that the Hereros lost confidence in their fellow-men—through no fault of their own—and met the well-intentioned injunctions of the Government with diffidence and even absolute refusal. A prophylactic antivariolic vaccination for instance, enjoined by Government, met with a point blank refusal on the part of the Hereros on the grounds that Government thereby merely intended to extirpate and kill all the Hereros in an underhand manner. It is very regrettable that the sensible amongst them were intimidated by the terrorism of those who called themselves leaders, for their influence might have had a good effect. The general urge now is to flock together in the reserves, if possible, in order to rear an unlimited number of cattle there, as their forefathers had done, to reintroduce ancestor worship and to escape from the domination of the white man. The present Government has, with prudence, great forbearance and regardless of expense, tried its utmost to bring the irreconcilables to their senses and to take into account the wishes of the Herero people. How far their endeavours will succeed remains to be seen. It is a fact that almost all male Hereros are linked together as members of a great military organisation and that everyone knows exactly to what rank he belongs—private, corporal or general! The paramount chief Samuel Maharero died in 1923 in his voluntary exile in Bechuanaland, and his body was buried in Okahandja on the 26th of August, 1923, where a large stone slab covers him, together with his ancestors Maharero and Tjamuaka.

On the 26th of August of each year a great heathenish anniversary is held at these three graves, to which all Herero men of the neighbourhood flock, on horseback if possible. On this occasion a military review is also held at which the new and old leaders of the people show themselves in all their glory.

This turn of affairs is very regrettable. If the Hereros would only allow themselves to take the place assigned to them in South West, they could rank as the foremost people amongst the native races of the country, equipped, as they are, with excellent qualities both of body and character, and might become a blessing to South West. As it is they are a source of anxiety both to the Government and to the European settlers.

II. Religion and Superstition.

As the customs and rights, labour and domestic affairs, as well as the general behaviour of the Herero are religiously regulated and are being adapted to the stream of western civilisation, one is quite unable to understand them, unless he attempts to do so from a religious standpoint and acquaints himself with their religion. A description of their nationality should, therefore, begin with a depiction of their religious views.

1. *Ndjambi Karunga.*

The Hereros know a supreme being whom they call by two names: Ndjambi Karunga. The name Karunga has an Ovambo derivation and is only known intimately to those Herero who have been in contact with the Ovambo in former times. The name Ndjambi as title for a supreme, divine being is known among many Bantu tribes. Towards the north it is found as far as Cameroon, in eastern direction and north-eastern direction to the territory of the Central African lakes.

According to the belief of the Herero Ndjambi is the Heavenly God. He lives in Heaven, yet is omnipresent. His most striking characteristic is kindness. Human life is due to and dependent on him and all blessings ultimately come from him. He who dies a natural death is carried away by Ndjambi. As his essence is kindness people cherish no fear but a veneration for him. As his blessings are the gifts of his kindness without any moral claims, the belief in Ndjambi has no moral strength, nor has the worship of Ndjambi become a cult. At best his name is invoked only in thanksgiving after some unexpected luck or they pray to him when all other means of help fail. For the rest, the utterance of his name is not allowed. In reply to a question I put to a Tjimba woman in the Kaokoveld as to the abode of Ndjambi-Karunga, she said: "He stays in the clouds because, when the clouds rise, his voice is clearly heard," and further research has brought to light that the Tjimba look upon Ndjambi as the giver of rain.

Even in the olden time there was so little publicity about the worship of Ndjambi that the missionaries who had lived in close contact with the Herero since 1844, heard his name for the first time only in 1871.

2. *Mukuru—the old one.*

Alongside the worship of Ndjambi-Karunga they have the worship of ancestors. The series of ancestors varies with each family-group. In many descriptions the Herero are depicted as believing their ancestors to have descended from a tree, the Omumborumbonga, which is honoured as their great forefather wherever they find it in the veld, but more accurate research has proved that this is not so. The Herero (Tjimba) of the Kaokoveld say that man is the offspring of a large tree, the Omutati, found in their territory; but the Hereros proper believe that the first people originate from an Omumborombonga growing between the Kaokoveld and Ovamboland. To this tree passing Herero still pay tribute to-day by putting twigs or leaves rubbed against their forehead into the holes of branches, saying: "Hail to thee, father." It is, however, denied that every Omumborombonga receives the same degree of veneration. Mukuru, (*i.e.*,) the old one with his wife Kamungarunga, and his cattle, are descended from this tree; but everything else in the world has a different origin, about which there are no coherent traditional accounts. It is important to note that the first people and their possessions, cattle, are of the same origin.

When the Herero speaks of "God," he calls him Mukuru and thinks of a human being who stands first in the genealogical table. After more searching enquiries it is found that every family has its own Mukuru, namely the ancestor in whom the family as such has originated. As a rule the family chiefs know the line of their ancestry up to the seventh or eighth generation back. The last of the remembered line then is the Mukuru of the family. To have a clear conception we must realize who were regarded as a Mukuru—ancestor, or as an Ovakuru—ancestors. On close inspection the following line exists:

(1) Mukuru, with no other name, who has descended from the Omumborombonga with his wife and cattle.

(2) Mukuru, whose name is different with each family and heads the line of the particular ancestors.

(3) Ovakuru—the old ones, the fathers of the particular lines of ancestors up to the last deceased father.

(4) The father who has just died, who is particularly worshipped as he was best known, and is expected to bring about great things.

(5) Mukuru, the still living successor of the late father. In spite of the fact that this successor is still alive he is regarded as Mukuru and at certain occasions called by that name because he is the representative of the family as well as the ancestral line, and it is his duty in the first instance to keep up the relationship with the dead Ovakuru. This is done by worshipping the ancestors. He is the priest of the

family. That he is at the same time regarded and respected as chief of the family is a secondary consideration. The powers of religious practices and political force are vested in him.

If I were asked which of these two functions is primary and which secondary, I would suggest that to me it appears as if the function of priest is primary. In this respect the Hereros cannot give any information, as, according to their view this attribute was always a dual one.

Note:

The fact that the names and the graves of the ancestors are often remembered without a single omission up to the eighth generation by members of the family-group, reveals essential facts regarding their former migrations and settlements. In the course of years I have been able to draw up quite a number of such genealogical tables of the Herero, Tjimba and Mbandjeru, but lack of space unfortunately does not allow me to give the interesting details of these lines. However, it can be proved with certainty—according to these data—that the Herero, coming from Angola 200 years ago at the earliest, slowly migrated into their present residential areas and did not stay any length of time in the Kaokoveld.

3. *The Priest—Chief as living Mukuru.*

The priest of a family, a direct descendant of the ancestors, represents the family, when firstly in order to ward off threatening or expected evil he exercises his priestly functions, and secondly when he asks blessings from the ancestors on his family.

As such then he has two obligations. He has carefully to tend the vessels used in connection with the worship of the ancestors, and must conduct the ceremonies at the Okuruno, the altars of the holy fire, according to ancestral institution.

No Herero can tell how many such priests there have been in earlier times or are at present at work. Quite naturally those, who have greater influence as a result of their possessions in herds and followers, become conspicuous.

Before the country was taken possession of by European civilised nations, and before the destruction of popular beliefs and creeds by the work of the Mission, the Herero had seven great priests, namely Maharero at Okahandja, Zerana at Otjimbingwe, Kukuri at Otjosazu, Kandjii and Kamareti and Kambazembi at Waterberg, who lived in the Kaokoveld in the days of his youth. Among the Mbandjeru, Apondo functioned as priest besides a number of others of no great importance. Among the Tjimba of the Kaokoveld not one of the priests was of any importance as none of them possessed great herds or a great retinue.

4. *The Holy Fire—Omuriro omurangere.*

The centre for religious worship was an ash-heap in which a weak fire glimmered and was only blown up into a blaze on festival occasions. This fire-place is separated from its surroundings by means of stones or a thorn-hedge. The situation of this holy place lies as follows: The house of the first wife of the priest always lies East. This house forms the beginning of a circle made by the remaining huts, within which are the kraals for the calves. Between the calf-kraal and the house of the chief wife the altar for the holy fire is situated. Round about this altar lie the horns of cattle, etc., which have been slaughtered as an offering. They serve as seats for the priest and his eminent men at festival occasions. In close proximity a branch of the Omumborombonga tree lies as a permanent representative of the ancestors. In the Kaokoveld they use an Omutati branch.

The holy fire is a gift from Mukuru. Only because it is descended from him has it that meaning and under no circumstances is it allowed to die down as its extinction would be identical with that of the tribe. If it should go out only the priest as living Mukuru may kindle it. This is done by means of two sticks, one of which represents the male and the other the female principle. The male stick is called "ondume," derived from the verb "okuruma"—to cohabit. The female stick, which has a small cavity into which the male is fixed vertically and twirled till it takes fire, is called "otjija," derived from the verb "okuja" to come.

The male stick is regarded as a holy vessel. Among the Tjimba of the Kaokoveld it always originates from an ancestor, from whose collection of arrows an arrow-shaft is preserved as a relic. This shaft is always made from Omuvapu wood. The more arrow-shafts that are preserved the longer the line of ancestors such a family has, each ancestor being represented by a single stick, and the fire if quenched can only be rekindled with such a stick.

Among the Herero such sacred sticks exist no more. While the son of the late chief Samuel Maharero, Friedrich Maharero, who lives in Bechuanaland, was visiting Hereroland in 1926, he was entreated to rekindle the holy fire as living Mukuru, but he refused, being a devout Christian. In their passionate desire to revive the old heathenism, however, others were found who went about kindling such fires at certain places, in the reserves and on farms; but to nobody's satisfaction as none believes these fires to be effectual.

When one goes on a journey or removes to another place, he first makes sure of the blessing of the ancestors and of the possibility of coming in contact with them by taking a firebrand from the holy fire of his tribe with him. When this begins to cease glimmering along the way another fire is

quickly made with the dying embers so as to get a new brand of equal efficiency.

When one wants to lay the foundation of a house he asks for a fire-brand from a recognised priest-chief, signifying in this way that, even though he may become respected and rich, he will still be dependent upon the priest from whom he received the fire.

5. *The Priestess—Omurangere.*

It is not the duty of the priest to blow up or replenish the fire or to see that the glowing coals do not go out in the ash heap during the night. This is the duty of his eldest daughter and as soon as she has grown to womanhood she assumes this duty. On festival occasions she blows the small fire into a great blaze, visible from afar. At night she sees to it that glowing coals are brought into the hut of her mother, the Great Woman. She takes care that during night time this fire is either kept burning or at least that the glowing coals do not die down. As her activities bear a religious stamp, and ancestral worship bears the name " okurangere " she is called " ondangere," *i.e.*, the person who performs religious duties.

As soon as the priestess marries her duties cease and are henceforth carried out by her mother the Great Woman. Her hut is larger than the huts of the remaining inhabitants of the town and it has also been erected with more care because besides the holy fire, which burns in her hut during night, the sacred vessels are also stored there. Therefore, her house is called otzizero—holy house, from okuzera—sanctify, consecrate, which resembles the taboo of the South Sea Islanders. It is said there must have been special houses for storing these sacred vessels in olden days; but these do not exist any more. In the Kaokoveld these vessels are found in the house of the Great Woman. Only once, when she was not there the priest, her husband, ventured to show me the vessels, but I dared not touch them.

6. *Otjizero—The House of the Great Woman.*

The abode of the chief wife of the priest, in which the holy fire is preserved and which serves as bedroom for both her and her daughter, the priestess, is regarded as sacred. There the vessels which are used at religious ceremonies, are stored, and the tools used by deceased ancestors. Above all things the holy ancestral staffs are kept there covered up with a skin blanket.

A wicker-basket made of roots and rushes for offerings in flesh, a font carved out of wood for consecrated water, a box containing the fat of slaughtered bulls, with which the sons of chiefs are anointed, a dressed skin sack in which there is a cord made of the back tendon of a bull, are considered as offerings. At the birth of a boy in his family, the priest ties

Grave in Okahandja of Kahimema, Headman of the Mbanderu Hereroes.

Headman Hosea Kutako of the Aminuis Reserve. (Photographed some time before 1914).

a knot in this cord. If he dies or when he becomes a Christian this knot is untied. The pieces of funicle which have fallen off after the birth of boys of the family are also placed in this sack.

The further heritage of the ancestors consists of: milk jugs, which they used to use, bows, quivers and arrows, sandals, sleeping skins, etc.

7. *The Okuruuo—Place where the holy fire burns in the open.*

It is quite indispensable to come to an agreement with the ancestors at all important events and at the beginning of any important enterprise and this generally happens at the Okuruuo, the place where the holy fire burns. A number of sacred vessels are carried to that place and the ancestral staffs are placed round the fire. When animal sacrifices are brought, which consist of one or more strangled oxen to be eaten at the sacrificial meal, none of the meat is eaten before the priest has offered a dish for the ancestral staffs to taste.

As it is not uncommon for the priest to say a prayer in addition to these ceremonies, it is important that he know the names of the ancestors for such occasions. These prayers are in most cases very short and only convey the object of the sacrifices and a request for protection and help.

8. *The Offering—Ozombunguhiro.*

A knowledge of the different sacrificial ceremonies is necessary for the execution of the functions of a priest for there are about 20 different ways of sacrificing. To describe them all is unnecessary; but two offerings need special mention. These are the purification offering and the death offering.

A purification offering is brought whenever a member of the family has consciously or unconsciously transgressed the fixed rules of the ancestors and the anger of the ancestors threatens to break out over the sinner and the whole family. The priest then takes a mouthful of consecrated water and spurting it over the transgressor, generally confesses the sins of the guilty person excusingly and palliatingly.

The death offering is brought when the priest-chief dies. While still living he set aside a number of oxen for this occasion and these may, under no circumstances, be sold or slaughtered. Often there are from 50 to 100 such oxen. One amongst them is the chief's favourite ox, which has to die as soon after the death of the priest as possible in order that the corpse may be sewn into its skin. The remaining oxen are killed in the course of a few days or even weeks and are eaten by the mourning crowd so that there is no necessity for the chief and priest to be without his beloved oxen in the life hereafter. They are sent after him into death.

It happened sometimes that tradesmen anxious to be paid, and not knowing this custom, seized hold of such sacred oxen in payment, thereby contributing a good deal towards creating an ill-feeling with the Herero in earlier days.

9. *The Prayer at the Ancestral Grave.*

As a rule the graves of the ancestors are not in the immediate vicinity of the settlements. The reason for this lies in the fact that they leave their villages to settle at another place as soon as the death-offering has been given and the skulls of the eaten oxen piled on or next to the grave as a sepulchre.

That the graves of the three chiefs Tjamuaka, Maharero and Samuel Maharero lie close to one another in the centre of Okahandja is not in accordance with old customs and may be ascribed to the influence of modern and foreign customs.

In times of dire need it is felt that the performances before the ancestral staffs at the holy fire are not effectual and the Herero feel compelled to come in direct communication with the ancestors themselves in the close proximity of the graves and not with their representatives. For this purpose it is necessary that one should visit the grave and generally the priest himself or an authorised messenger undertakes the journey. Having come near the grave he barks like a dog, thereby intimating his arrival. Having reached the grave he lays his suit before the ancestors and solicits favours in a few words. Then he replies to his requests in a dissembled voice on behalf of the ancestors. At his departure he barks again. He thus imitates the visit of a petitioner who comes to the priest-chief, is barked at by the dogs, speaks to him, attains his end and is led off the premises under the barking of the dogs. These graves are regarded as the residences of the deceased, *i.e.*, where they stay and can be consulted. If it, however, should happen that the grave is altogether too far off, or that they do not exactly know where to find it, then it is sufficient to go into the country in the direction where the grave might be. Having followed this direction for a time a twig of the offering-shrub, the Omuvapu, is broken off and held between the hands while the requests are brought before the ancestors in prayer.

It has still to be said that men praying at a grave are often dressed in women's clothes. The idea that a woman's request is seldom refused is evidently playing a part here.

10. *The Tasting—Okumakera.*

It is a religious custom at sacrificial meals that the priest-chief first eats a piece of the meat to be distributed among the community after parts of the sacrifice have been offered to the ancestral staffs. Those who are entitled to participate in the meal can only begin eating after the priest has done so. The same applies to the omaere milk which has been made sour in large calabashes. The women and girls milk every morning and every evening and this milk is then poured in hollow calabashes to get sour. Every calabash has its special name and the milk in it serves a special purpose, for

children, adults, strangers, etc. When the process of thickening the milk is finished, the curds and whey are poured into the wooden pails used for that purpose and which may not be washed, and are brought to the priest-chief at the holy fire where he tastes it; and this must be done daily. Such milk is available for general use only after it has been so tasted. A sin, to be severely avenged, would be committed by using milk which has not yet been tasted. In such a case the evil-bringing wrath of the ancestors, which unrelentingly punishes those who have transgressed their rules, can be averted only by special ceremonies of atonement.

11. *Holy Things.*

The commandments of the ancestors are positive and negative. The sacrificial laws, the regulations relating to religious performances at the holy fire, etc., belong to the positive rules. The prohibitions are much more numerous. Everything that is "zeri," *i.e.*, which dare not be touched and should be treated with awe, falls under the prohibitions. Persons as well as things may be "zeri"—untouchable and sacred. The person of the priest-chief, his saliva, a woman in child-bed, and her hut, twins, etc., are holy. He who attempts anything against these people in looks, words or deeds has to expect the punishment of the ancestors, who revenge themselves in the form of misfortune in housekeeping, illness, childlessness or death. The skins of the wild onions which are used for vegetables in the Herero household are holy and can only be strewn on the holy fire. The "okuruuo" with the holy fire, its ash and glowing coals, the cow-dung from the chief's kraal, the curdled milk which has not yet been tasted by the priest, certain parts of the ox, a grave with everything laid on it, the blue sky, the funicle of a newly-born child, the "omuvapu" shrub in the forest and many other things may not be touched, unless such contact, use or approach be granted to certain people by certain concessions of the ancestors. These things are shunned by them, not looked at with their eyes, their shadows avoided, not pointed at with the fingers, not even spoken of without dread.

One who offends against these holy things has committed a sin in the heathen sense. He is guilty, whether his mistake was intentional or unintentional. The ancestors will avenge themselves and that awfully, not on the sinner alone, but occasionally on his whole family. The misfortune can be averted and his transgression forgiven only by certain ceremonies on the part of the priest.

12. *The Soul.*

The Hereros believe in the existence of a soul in every individual and act accordingly. This soul lives even when the body is overtaken by death. Then it leaves the body. The locality of the soul is not exactly fixed; but many assume

its locality is in the blood, whereas others think that it is found in the spinal cord and comes forth in the form of a worm after death. Others again hold that the soul is over the whole body, and what is more, that parts and virtues of the soul even cling to the secretions of the body. They further maintain that after death the soul of an influential and well-to-do priest-chief will be of more importance than that of an unimportant man just as the importance of people during their life time is relative to wealth and poverty, influence and powerlessness. Each son does not venerate his own father as a Mukuru-ancestor, for Mukuru can only be the person who inherited the right to perform the priestly duties at the holy fire. All who belong to a family also have part in the souls of the ancestral line worshipped by that family whose graves are known, whose sacred vessels are preserved in the otjizero—holy place.

The graves of the poor soon become dilapidated, and are forgotten. Nobody beseeches them for help. At the utmost are they avoided in the veld and even when that means going a long way round.

It is remarkable how little filial love is exhibited in the worship of ancestors. The Herero are fully convinced that an ancestor can be consulted at his grave, but nobody approaches the grave without fear and dread in order to speak to him. Love and confidence die out and fear takes their place. Every fatality finds its explanation in a divine ordinance of the ancestors, who feel insulted for certain reasons.

Still more dreadful are the souls of great miscreants and enemies for they may arise from their graves as ghosts and disturb people. While it is dangerous to meet or to see such a ghost, one can protect oneself from such evil spirits in two ways. When a villain dies his backbone is chopped to pieces by means of an axe before the interment and his corpse is tied into a bundle by means of leather straps. Then the soul, the worm localised in the backbone, is so injured that a resurrection in the form of a ghost is impossible. If one has not been careful in destroying the backbone altogether and one sees that the ghost goes about, the danger can be averted by another precautionary measure. The grave is opened and the whole corpse chopped to pieces or burnt.

If a heathen Herero has to pass a grave he first surveys the grave in order to see whether there are any signs which indicate that the soul has been resurrected. On one of my journeys in the Kaokoveld I had to outspan in the veld, not being able to reach a town. Near the wagon there was a scarcely distinguishable heap of soil. We had scarcely outspanned when the Hereros who were with the wagon came and announced that we could not sleep there for near by there was a grave and the soul of the deceased had crept out, and it was probable that we would be disturbed by the ghost

during the night-time. However, I refused their unreasonable demand to go further and next morning it was found that the heap of ground was a dilapidated white ant heap into which an ant-bear had made a hole.

The Herero has never considered the question of a future life, and the immortality of the soul after the death of the body. From an intensive study of their ancestor worship one would infer that the assumption among them is that even the souls of ancestors become weaker and weaker in course of time until ultimately they are, so to speak, powerless, because only the newly-deceased ancestors receive any real attention. The longer an ancestor is dead the fewer are the reports handed down to the offspring about him; often they do not know the grave, the order of the names gets confused, and individual names are even forgotten; nor is this regarded as an offence. The fear decreases as the years since his death increase, as an ancestor he is of no more use, for the years make him seem too remote to do harm. It should not be concluded from these Herero customs that ancestral souls become divine personalities; on the contrary, the soul gradually diminishes and ultimately vanishes.

13. *Wizards.*

There are mysterious powers by which those who know how to utilise them, can bring misfortune, illness and death to others. As a rule these powers are only effectual when the practiser can get hold of things belonging to the person he wants to harm, such as saliva, other bodily secretions, cut-off hair, pieces of finger nails, shoes, garments, dust which bears the footprint of the person concerned, in short, anything which has in any way been in close contact with such a person. When they have carried or carry such things to any grave and bury them there, saying to the dead: "Here you have my enemy! At last he is dead! Keep him so that he does not escape," they believe that they are able to rid themselves of the enemy. But a malediction, a curse, a disrespectful act, *e.g.*, a violent pointing at someone with the forefinger, or an evil look are able to bring evil over the hated person. Such witchcraft, if indulged in by private people, is only effective within the circle of relationships belonging to the same family-group, and it does not work in the case of strangers.

Besides these private wizards, there are also professional wizards whose witchcraft is of much more force and also affects people of other families and things appertaining to other nations. They are frequently used for terminating enmities in a quiet way. Often these wizards work with poison, which they know how to procure from plants and animals, and administer to the person who has to be done away with.

If misfortune befalls someone either in the form of bad luck in cattle-rearing, or an accident to the children, illness of members of the family, etc., the first question is: What is the source of this evil? Does it come from indignant ancestors? Is it due to an enemy who has caused it through witchcraft? In such cases there is only one man who can decide and that is the lot-caster—ombetere.

He wears a leather strap with three pea-sized iron beads round his right knee, and with these beads he is able to answer any kind of question! He takes these beads in the hollow of his left hand, stretching his fingers which are lying close to each other. By this means little paths are formed in which the beads can roll without falling to the ground. Now each little pathway gets the name of a person and he sets the beads rolling by an up and down movement of his hands. If they do not start rolling, the paths between the fingers get other names, and he continues to move his hands till the beads all move in one path and thereby indicate that the lot-caster is on the right track.

Many a time it happens that legal action is taken on the mere decision of the lot-caster. When the answer implies that the ancestors are avenging a wrong by means of such a misfortune, the priest-chief has to settle the matter at the holy fire or by going to an ancestral grave. If the cause of the misfortune is neither ascribed to living people nor to ancestors, then it is time to consult the professional wizard, the onganga. Each onganga-wizard has his own recipes according to which he acts. The son learns the art from his father. He is consecrated by observing certain religious ceremonies, but may not practise his profession before his father is dead.

The onzonganga-wizards possess much useful knowledge about medicinal herbs. In addition to this they keep themselves busy in making rain, which in former times was the duty of the chief; they foretell political events from the intestines of slaughtered animals, and through their doings they neutralise the effect of the witchcraft of evil persons.

At present the lot-casters have the greatest influence. They are wont to attribute all mishaps that befall the Hereros to the immigration of Europeans or to their leanings towards Christianity, and their only recipe is a stereotyped cry: "Rekindle the holy fire! Worship the ancestors again as in the days of yore! They are indignant and angry with you because you have deserted them. If you become heathens of the old stamp again the ancestors will aid and help you to rid yourselves of the foreign government and to live happily again as you used to." In this way they prevent the Hereros from fulfilling their appointed functions as useful members among the nations of South West, and widen the gulf when the needs of the time demand co-operation for the common aim of developing the country.

To complete this account it must be mentioned that there is a third type of person who is regarded with the same fear as the wizards and lot-casters, *viz.*, the soothsayers—ozombuke. They are not very abundant and they comprise both men and women. In response to inspirations which are said to be due to the ancestors, they tell about mysterious and future things without availing themselves of iron beads or such things and have no ceremonial. When they are not humbugs, they represent phenomena, which are known among other nations as second sight or as spiritualistic mediums.

14. *Superstitions.*

The Hereros, like all other nations, have their superstitions. In most cases striking symptoms on certain animals or parts of the human body bear evil interpretations.

The groaning of a bull, the howling of a dog, the hoot of an owl, the yell of a jackal and of a wild dog, all spell evil. One who sees a hare running over a road, or treads on a snake's trail, has likewise to expect evil.

Superstitiously they avoid pronouncing the names of the animals they fear. In speaking of a snake the pseudonym " thong " is used, and for an elephant they use the expression " the world of Otavi " in the Kaokoveld, for fear that these animals might hear their names and pay them unwelcome visits. A convulsion of the muscles of the face, the limbs and of the whole body generally all indicate some special mishap or other according to the muscle concerned and very seldom anything pleasant. The superstitions of the Herero clearly betray the pessimism underlying their spiritual life.

III. Customs and Habits.

The Herero strongly differentiate the omundu omuhona = masters and omundu iriri = unimportant people. This is the difference that exists between the propertied class and the proletariat all over the world. One who possesses a herd of cattle which he calls his own, is called a master. One who has not acquired or inherited cattle is of no importance. It is compulsory for such a person to throw in his lot with an owner of property, who is generally a wealthy man to whom he is related in some way or another.

1. Even at the very birth of a child this difference is already distinctly recognisable. As a rule the pregnant woman goes to her mother a few months before the birth of the child to await there her confinement. When it is possible the father follows the expectant mother in order to reach her at about the time of birth so as to accompany her home after her convalescence.

He may under no circumstances attend the birth. The elder women of the family act as midwives and as soon as birth has been given it is announced by means of shouts.

When it is a boy the shout is: "Ouje, ouje, okauta! = world, world, a small boy!" because a future hunter and soldier who will use the bow, is born. In the case of a girl the call is: "Ouje, ouje, okaseu = world, world, a little onion!" one is born who will gather wild onions.

If a child is born from well-to-do parents, a special hut is built for the lying-in. She has to stay in this hut before, during and after the birth. When after convalescence she returns to her parents-in-law with her husband nobody dare stay in the deserted house which is allowed to tumble down and nobody dare use or burn the timber of the dilapidated house, because it is holy. He who trespasses must expect dire punishment from the ancestors.

The funicle which falls off is handed over to the chief of the family and he preserves it in a skin bag which is regarded as sacred. In this bag leather straps with knots relating to each individual member of the family are also kept. A new knot is tied in the strap, which is only untied if the child should die or go over to Christianity.

As soon as the mother is able to do so, she takes her little child, after the funicle has fallen off, to the holy fire where the priest and his councillors are sitting and the ancestral staffs laid out, and the child is introduced to the ancestors. This introduction may take place in the form of a prayer: "A child is born to us! May our race never cease!" Then the priest takes some of the consecrated water in his mouth from the font and sprinkles mother and child with it, announcing its name which is nearly always a new one and describes some striking event at the time of its birth.

The father may only see his child after the removal of the funicular string and is not required to attend the feast at the holy fire. If the priest is the father of the child the ceremony is of course more imposing. These ceremonies mean that child is taken into the tribal society.

2. It has often spread abroad that the *birth of twins* is a very pleasing event with the Hereros in contrast to all other Bantu tribes, but this is not the case, and an erroneous interpretation of the customary rites at the occasion of twin-birth has led to this wrong impression. It is true that the father of twins may travel through the country a-begging cattle, which is given him without hesitation. On the part of the father this is prompted by selfishness, but by granting him what he asks, the donors do not in any way mean that they rejoice with him, nor are they moved to give by a willingness to assist in nourishing the twins. Both the father and the mother of the twins are labelled as persons who have communications with Fate in a mysterious way, and an offence against them might bring evil upon them, so for this reason it is expedient to accede to the wish of the father without saying a word, lest they bring a curse over them. That this

Headman Hosea Kutako in profile a typical Herero head.

Herero Cattle—Kaokofeld.

interpretation is true is not only affirmed by intelligent and thinking Hereros themselves but is also manifested in the custom which ordains that parents of twins are not allowed to live in a village. If the birth took place in a village the parents have to remove to a hut quickly erected in the veld for them, as soon as possible with their children. If they dare to leave this dwelling too soon, all sorts of unattractive objects, such as dung, pebbles, etc., are thrown at them symbolically.

3. Sucklings are carried in dressed goat-skins on their mothers' backs in such a way that two straps, formed by the hindlegs of the animal, are slung round her hips, the hairy side of the skin turned out. The mother takes the child by one of its arms and lifts it on to her back and places it as it were in a sack. The skin is pulled over the back of the child, and the skin of the front feet, also lengthened by straps, is tied round her neck by means of a knot. In order not to obstruct her breathing these straps round the neck are pulled downwards and again fastened to the strap round her waist. So the mother has her child with her all day long, and as soon as it gets restless it is fed. Chubby babes are no curiosity and an extremely well-fed child is its mother's pride; but it is not customary for a stranger to express surprise at its good condition.

From the very first the baby, who does not wear any clothing, is adorned with talismans against diseases, and rings round his arms and legs and bead-chains round his neck. It may generally be said that the Herero mothers attend to the rearing of their children intelligently and successfully. But in cases of illness they are quite helpless and in their ignorance often grasp at remedies which are harmful to their children.

4. The adolescent boy gets a small leather apron and quite early in life learns to catch hold of all sorts of animals of the veld for food, mice, lizards and birds being welcome tit-bits.

The little girl, also clad in a small leather apron about the size of a slender hand, stays with the mother and is taught very early to assist in all sorts of domestic work.

5. The Hereros have a characteristic institution which may most appropriately be called *child insurance*. Many parents do not retain their children after they have been weaned, but give them to the grandparents, other relatives or acquaintances to rear, and in exchange adopt the children of some relative. This has become a regular custom, the deeper significance of which they cannot explain. Intelligent Hereros, however, assure us that this is done as a precaution in case an epidemic should break out, and to minimise the danger of being robbed of all their children at once.

6. After the second dentition the boys and girls get the national mark. It is done at the holy fire, when a triangular

notch opening downwards is filed into the middle incisors of the upper jaw and the four incisors of the lower jaw are knocked out. They have no fixed age for this, but wait until there are a number of children. This " tooth-mark " must not be regarded as a decoration. It is a national mark. According to Herero opinion a Christian deserts his nation by being baptised; he is no more a Herero but a Christian. Hence the Christians among them neglect the " tooth-mark," but after 1915, when the desire to uphold their nationality was revived, many even of advanced age had their teeth filed. In the normal course of events it should be done between the ages of eight and twelve.

7. Under normal circumstances the circumcision should also take place when the tooth-marking is executed, but circumstances often demand another arrangement. If, *e.g.*, a boy of two or three years be given over to the care of remote relatives and a circumcision is taking place at that time, he would also be circumcised, as the ceremony may only be conducted in the father's yard and at no other place. On the other hand if it should happen that a boy is entrusted to remote relatives with whom he stays till the days of his youth or even manhood, he cannot be circumcised before he returns to his father's place.

The place of circumcision is decided upon by the lot-caster. It may be in the village but it may also happen that he points out a place in the veld. In the latter case a hut of branches is got ready for the young men, who will have to live outside the village for quite a long time. The circumcision is executed by a man who has learnt the art. In olden days a stone knife was used, later on sharpened arrow-points and lately any sharp tool is utilised. Those who are circumcised at one and the same time form an association wherein every member is compelled to render assistance to his colleagues. They call one another " coeval " regardless of the fact that the " coevals " sometimes differ a full decade in age, which indicates that circumcision must have been performed at a certain age in olden times.

They have very little to say about the aim of circumcision. With the revival of heathenism in 1915 extraordinarily many Hereros who did not bear this national mark had themselves circumcised. There are some Hereros who state that circumcision is indulged in for the sake of rendering connubial intercourse more fascinating to the women. The Herero word for circumcise is okusukareka = to prepare for a maiden. After his wounds have healed the circumcised young man is regarded as marriageable.

8. Analogous to the circumcision of the boys is the *consecration of the hair* for the girls. She is taken away from the circle of huts and girls of her own age are not allowed to accompany her. At the age of about eight years the

ceremony for the consecration of the hair takes place, her hair being shaved off up to the little tuft on the vertex. To this tuft fibres of ox-tendon are fastened, which hang down in strands at the back and in front. These strands end in iron beads. An animal is slaughtered and a piece of its flesh is brought to an ancestral grave as a gift, but the girl dare not eat of it. As menstruation sets in for the first time the strands hanging down her back are lengthened by means of fibres of tendon or bark, so that they cover the back, and this is the outward sign of her marriageability.

9. The engagement of the son is the exclusive concern of the father. He looks for a bride and it is he who asks her father by sending a string of beads whether an engagement and marriage can be discussed. If the beads are accepted his request is acceded to. Such a question may even be put while the boy is still under age and the consent of the father of the bride may be had while the bride is still a child.

It is exceptionally difficult for young men and adolescent girls to act according to their own desires and tendencies.

A young man may, in order to attain the girl of his choice, ensconce himself behind his father; but the latter in any case remains the one who pleads the cause. When the engagement is agreed upon, the young man may give his bride an iron bead as an outward token, and this she wears on a little strap on her apron. The engagement becomes of force by the despatch of one or two oxen, a young cow, a ewe with two young ewes and one wether. This is the dower of the bridegroom to the bride and is the same for all, wealthy or poor, and when the parents of the bride have accepted this " morning-gift " the engagement is contracted.

From this day the period of " engagement-shyness " sets in. This implies that the bride and bridegroom may not see each other any more. This reserve also applies to the mother-in-law. In like manner the mother-in-law and the future son-in-law may not see or speak to each other. When the bridegroom or the bride or the future mother-in-law contravenes this custom it is regarded as a tacit revocation of the engagement.

When an engagement is broken the following rules must be obeyed: When the bride breaks the engagement her father has to return the " morning-gift " to the father of the bridegroom. When the bridegroom is responsible for the breach then the " morning-gift " is not returned unless the bride has been guilty of the offence which has led to the breach. Then too if the bride dies the " morning-gift " is not returned.

The duration of this time of reserve varies. The marriage of his children is indeed one of the most tedious affairs which a Herero has to settle.

10. *The Marriage* results from an agreement between the parents of the bride and bridegroom. At the appointed time the bridegroom and his retinue approach the village where the bride stays, but he may not enter it. During the days of the wedding he and his retinue have to stay outside the town and as long as they are still outside, the bride's father slaughters the wether or an ox of the "morning-gift." The netting of fat round the intestines is thrown over the bride as a veil and she may not take it off during the days of the wedding. The flesh of the slaughtered animals may only be eaten by the women. This really constitutes the wedding. The bride's mother brings the bride to the holy fire after more animals have been slaughtered for the wedding repast and eaten by all the inhabitants of the town, while some pieces of it are sent to the retinue of the bridegroom, who, however, may not eat it himself. The owner of the town, *i.e.*, the priest-chief, takes melted butter from a consecrated vessel and rubs the bride's left upper-arm with it; takes consecrated water in his mouth from a wooden vessel and spurts that over the bride, who lifts her veil a little, and then the mother takes the bride to the young maidens who are in a secluded spot, and removes all the veil bit by bit.

Now the bride is so far ready that the bridegroom may take her to his village. His comrades accompany him and the bride has also got her retinue. The marriage procession may only enter the town after sun-down. On doing this the bride takes hold of the straps round the bridegroom's hips and follows him through the whole town, passing every hut, and after this both bride and bridegroom go into a house newly built for them. In the centre of this house there is a pillar on which the roof rests and it is a rigid custom which must be observed, that this pillar separates them for the whole night. Nuptial intercourse is prohibited during the first night of cohabitation. Failure to observe this rule would mean death to either one or other of the married couple or that of the chief of the village or "werf."

Next morning the bridegroom's father slaughters a wether and has the left front foot cooked, touches the foot-soles of the young husband and wife and at the same time the central pillar of the house with the flesh. After this both are brought into the house of the young husband's parents where he tastes and hands over the sour milk for general use on that day, instead of his father. The marriage contract is now valid and its consummation now will have no detrimental results.

11. The "werf" or village, as a matter of fact, only includes a community of those who are family relatives. A mixed habitation of different families is quite impossible according to Herero custom. The town faces east and forms a more or less complete circle of round dome-shaped huts.

Tombstone of the Herero Chiefs Tjamuaka, Maharero, and Samuel Maharero, erected at Okahandja.

Wife and daughter of Tjimba-Herero headman.

Tjimba Hereroes.

The support of the hut consists of suitable branches which are inclined towards each other and fastened together at the top for a roof. The centre of the roof rests on a strong pillar which is erected exactly in the centre of the hut, which is about three to four yards in diameter. It is plastered with a mixture of clay and cow-dung both inside and outside, and ox-hides are spread over the roof. The plaster does not reach to the ground so that the destructive work of the termite-ants may be controlled and checked. The owner of the "werf" possesses no home of his own, for the house of the Great Woman is generally regarded as the abode of the Chief. In this house all the sacred vessels used at the holy fire are kept, and it always lies in an easterly direction. To the left of this house are the houses of the concubines and on the right-hand side the abodes of first the married sons and then those of the unmarried boys. The girls stay on the left hand side where the women are. The circle is completed by the residences of the more remote relatives and servants. Within this circle towards the westerly side the kraal for the calves is found, and between this kraal and the residence of the Great Woman, the Okuruuo and the holy fire are found. This place is holy and is shunned by both women and children.

12. *The Furniture* of a Herero house does not include much but is just sufficient to satisfy their domestic needs and is manufactured by the owner himself. They are wont to hang all kinds of little bags made of dressed skin, in which they keep home-grown tobacco, the tinder-box with flint, or the plectrum, knives, pipes made of serpentine-stone and other trifles, in the branches that support the hut. The box with the leather quiver also hangs there; also carved clubs of about an arm's length with knobs of about the size of a fist. This is the so-called "kirrie" which is used with effect as a weapon for throwing or beating. On the ground there are ox-hides spread out as beds, with softened sheep or goat skins used as blankets against the cold of the night. Near the central pillar there is the elevated fire-place made of clay. Round the sides you find the calabashes which are used as vessels to contain sour milk. There is a wooden pail to each calabash, used when the milk is drunk or dished out by means of a large wooden spoon. Each milk-vessel has its particular name and serves a special purpose, *e.g.*, one for women and children, one for men, another for travelling guests, etc. A small chair with a seat of plaited leather straps and well-finished, is a special means of comfort. The floor of the hut is daubed with cow-dung every week and the hut is kept clean, for a Herero woman takes pride in her home.

13. The old *National dress* is as simple as it is practical. The men wear a long cleverly plaited leather belt round their

waists, which they draw in more tightly in times of scarcity of food. To this belt they attach a small apron over which they suspend a string of heavy iron beads to prevent it from being blown about or sliding away. Behind their backs there also hangs an apron of moderate size, likewise attached to the belt. Round their knees they also fasten a strap with long dangling strings for decorative purposes. Their dress is complete with a self-dressed sheep or goat skin worn round the shoulders.

The dress of the women is more artistic and ample. They wear a front apron reaching to the knees and a leather apron of the same length at the back. Their head-gear of which they are very proud comprises a leather cap showing three high points beset with iron beads and running down the neck to terminate in a covering for the back with artistic designs worked out in beads on it. The head-gears of the Tjimba women are not so high as those of the Herero women. Their arms and legs are encumbered with brass rings which greatly impede their working and walking, consequently it is regarded as shameful for a real Herero woman to be seen not walking slowly and with measured step. A European woman hurrying about her work is scorned by the Herero woman, for she reveals to them that she is not a born mistress, else her movements would be more stately.

14. The outward *appearance* of the Herero, either man or woman, is haughty and stately. Their bodily structure is slender and there are many tall ones among them. They regard the rubbing of the whole body as well as the aprons and belts with fat prepared from molten butter and powdered iron-stone as becoming and healthy. The men very seldom leave their beards to grow and usually pull out the hairs one by one with a pair of small self-made tweezers, after having rubbed them with a paste made of water and wood-ash. By many of them the hairs growing on the body are also very carefully removed. The hair on the heads of the men is never cut off but twisted into tufts, or allowed to hang down in strings after it has been well rubbed with fat which prevents lice from nestling there. Once, for the sake of my investigations, I rewarded a Tjimba who allowed me to clip off with a shearing-machine his mass of hair which resembled the wool of a sheep and had never been cut before, I was surprised not to find the slightest trace of vermin on his head.

15. Their *food* is just as simple as their clothing. It consists of sour milk in good years, *i.e.*, years when it has rained abundantly. Very seldom, and only at festival occasions do they enjoy meat in addition to it and then they do it so excessively that they get sick of it. For the rest meat is only eaten when one of the cattle of the herd has been caught by a beast of prey or has injured itself in the pastures or when a hunter brings some booty home. The meat is prepared with-

out salt and the fat is preferably drunk in molten form without diluting it. On the other hand butter is scorned, but is used for anointment when mixed with powdered minerals and herbs.

During the rainy season they also eat certain kinds of wild vegetables. In fact I have seen an Ovambanderu family which dried such vegetables for later use. The vegetables were cooked, pressed in small, hard balls and put on the roof to dry in the sun. Wild onions are also very much liked as vegetable food. These are roasted in hot ashes near the fire, peeled and then eaten, being thrown into the mouth and not put in. During bad years when the cattle are lean and the milk is only sufficient for the calves, they eat everything the veld offers—birds' eggs, birds, lizards, mice, the roots of certain plants, etc.

16. *Labour* in the European sense is unknown to the Herero. According to him the white man makes unnecessary work whereby he only worries himself and others; and he despises that. They only work when the requirements of life demand it. His life centres round his cattle-herds. The herd must be fed in the pastures and this is done by the servants or the boys as soon as they are old enough. The cattle have to be watered by the herdsmen, who stand one above the other on branched tree-trunks stuck into the water at wells dug by themselves. All the men participate in this, especially in dry years. The cattle have to be milked every morning and every night and this is done by the women and girls. The cattle-kraal must be thrown up and kept in order. The heavy thorny branches are brought by the man who trails them along with his oxen. In likewise the house must be polished often and the floor smeared with cow-dung, in order not to give off dust. This is the work of the woman. But to wash the milk pails, to rinse the milk vessels is an offence; they must remain unwashed until they break to pieces.

17. There is no such thing as *Manual labour* among the Herero of the old type, that is to say, no Herero who has learnt to do something special will work for remuneration for another. When he needs sandals he makes them himself and if he wants a strap twists it with his own hands. At the most the women work together to fabricate the three-pointed headgear of leather for a bride. Beads are made out of hoops and nails they pick up. They get their axes from the Cape Colony or purchase them from the Ovambo from whom they also buy the scanty supplies of common salt absolutely necessary for life. When I travelled in the Kaokoveld common salt was the most popular item among the articles of barter I took with me. Tobacco has the same value as common salt and they know how to grow it but would rather receive it as a present from others. The Tjimba, however, prefer snuff by far.

18. The moonlight nights bring a welcome change to the monotony of their lives. The men perform dances in the flickering light of a fire while the women accompany them with songs and clapping of their hands. Remaining at the same place, they keep time by stamping with their feet. There are many kinds of dances, and they are named according to the antics of the men. In this way then the favourite ox of the Chief is imitated and praised in song at these dances and the game of the veld receives the same attention. But eminent men of their own nation or of other nations may also be the object of the performance. These nightly dances become the safety valve for the surplus energy which has not been used up in the work of the day and that they often have erotic consequences in sexual excesses need hardly be mentioned.

19. *Disease.*—On the whole the Hereros are a healthy and strong nation. The "good" wizards have many remedies for certain diseases. Since the Nama wars the Herero have again been infected with syphilis after seventy years. This disease undermines the very marrow of the nation. In the Kaokoveld, however, I did not discover any traces of syphilis. And since the Herero war 1904-07 in which all the nations of South-West were jumbled up malaria has also found its way into places where its name was only known before. This disease does not only come from the bite of mosquitoes in a hut which is not protected against the entry of the bearer of malaria, but also on days when it becomes hot or cold very suddenly, when malaria seems to be roused and whole families fall sick of it.

Leaving these two diseases out of the question the strong Herero may be said not to suffer from diseases, if one does not want to mention the numerous women's diseases which result from carelessness during and after-birth or may be ascribed to excessive stimulation of the sexual organs.

20. *Death and Interment.*—The poor Herero passes away as insignificantly as he has lived. None ever discusses his death or funeral, although it is quite different in the case of the rich. When the latter dies his soulless body is wrapped in the hide of the freshly-slaughtered favourite ox. The corpse is generally tied in a crouching position. On a lonely spot his deep round grave is dug; his corpse is let down on a bier made of branches and the grave is filled up by shovelling in earth and heavy stones are placed on the grave. Often things for general use are also put into the grave or else they are put on top of it, such as his bow, pipe and shoes, etc., and the oxen which have been kept separately for this purpose, numbering from 10-200, are now sent after the dead. One by one they are seized by their tails by strong men, chased through the meadows, pulled to and fro and ultimately pulled to the ground with a forcible jerk. The head is

turned horns downwards to the ground and the mouth and nostrils stuffed with sand so that the animal is suffocated. It is in this way that they hasten the oxen into the life hereafter to follow their owner that he may not appear there as a pauper. The flesh is consumed by the mourners and the funeral repasts, characterised as they are by mirth, may continue for weeks. They do not observe any devout restraint. What matters most with them is that the souls of the oxen were sent into eternity in the orthodox way, namely, by freeing the soul from the bodies without shedding blood but by suffocation. With the flesh they can do what they like and anyone may eat it. Everyone in the neighbourhood rushes consequently to the place where an owner of cattle has died.

The horns of the oxen are piled on or near the grave in the form of a pyramid representing the greatness of the man whose life terminated there. As soon as the horns have been piled up nobody may approach the grave again unless the deceased man's offspring are compelled by need to ask for help from the ancestor as previously described.

IV. Law and Administration of Justice.

The Hereros have their own laws which are not based on foreign laws or taken over from other tribes. A description of them should not be a comparison with other judicial systems. To understand Herero law one must study it and it alone, without seeking comparative systems. A closer examination in itself leads us to a method of presentation, for the root from which it has grown is plainly discerned in an individual, in the person of the priest-chief. He is the nucleus of the law. If he fall so does the law. We have to consider the ramification of the law, how it regulates the life of the individual Herero as well as that of distinctive groups. Lastly, the administration of justice has to be considered.

(*a*) Basis of Law: Oruzo and Eanda.

1. The Herero nation is divided into two large family groups. The first group is a religious organisation and is called the Oruzo. This word is best translated by "derivation." The second group is a social organisation and is called Eanda. This may fairly well be translated by "origin."

The Oruzo is organised according to paternal right. The father leaves his oruzo as a legacy to all the children he has reared. The Eanda is organised according to maternal rights. The mother leaves her eanda to all the children to whom she has given birth.

Thus the Herero is member of two groups; he belongs to the oruzo of his father and also to the eanda of his mother. Both these groups have their ordinances and laws. To present Herero law it is necessary to seek its basis in these groups.

2. The oruzo of the Herero is no coherent system for there are about 20 different such family groups. Each oruzo has its particular name and these names indicate their derivation. Some names found among them like Koodoo, Chameleon, etc., imply that the oruzo must have been a totem in olden days. All those belonging to the same oruzo strive to live together and the centre of such an oruzo-community is the okuruuo, the sacred fireplace where the holy fire burns. Every important law-suit is heard at the holy fire. At the place where the fire of the fathers kindled by means of the twirling stick of the ancestors, there, where the traditional religious rites are indulged in and where everything is executed under the eyes of the ancestors who have given the oruzo its laws, the Herero commits himself to his legally binding obligations.

3. The oruzo has its own inalienable property which is administered by the priest-chief. This property comprises in the first instance, the sacrificial animals, cattle and sheep (goats do not belong to them) and under no circumstances may any of these animals be sold for they are only intended for the worship of the ancestors. The oruzo is further in possession of the holy ancestral staffs, the representatives of the ancestors, the tools for kindling the holy fire, the calabashes into which the sweet milk is poured in order to get sour, the wooden pails belonging to them, and some curiosities which may be different with each oruzo, *e.g.*, ancestral sandals, arrow-points from its inheritance, old and antique blankets.

4. The oruzo laws are practically all prohibitions and mostly refer to foods which may not be eaten by members of such an oruzo. The old father has prohibited these things and now they dare not be eaten. He who does not heed the commandment provokes the anger of the ancestors and his sins can only be atoned for by a laborious process according to fixed prescriptions on the part of the youngest successor of the ancestors, namely, the priest-chief. The only positive command of the oruzo is with regard to possessing cattle of a certain colour with horns of a certain form; or, to turn this commandment into a negative statement, the oruzo is prohibited from possessing cattle other than those having a specified colour and a specified form of horn.

It seems that the possession of cattle of a particular colour within a certain oruzo does not imply some prehistoric fancy but a distinctly recognisable mark of ownership introduced by herdsmen in the olden days.

5. The oruzo legacy is inherited by the eldest son of the chief wife, according to paternal law, or when there is no such successor, by the eldest brother of the late priest-chief, who must have been reared by the same father.

6. The Eanda (=origin) is the family group organised according to maternal right. It is a social organisation and is the embodiment of maternal right, just as paternal right is embodied in the oruzo. This Eanda also is no coherent institution. There are six different principal Omaanda, bearing different names denoting the origin of the individual eanda. In the myths, in which the names and the history of their origin are narrated only women appear on the scene just as in the case of the oruzo where only men act. Some Eanda names, taken from the animal world, such as chameleon, etc., indicate that in olden days the institution of the eanda must have been a totemic organisation.

7. Each eanda has its eanda property comprising the possession of cattle. The head of the family may not dispose of this property voluntarily. Only in the case of paying family debts may the eanda property be touched. The eanda property is inherited by brothers descendant from the same mother according to maternal law, or in case there are none, by the eldest brother of the mother, or by the eldest son of the eldest sister of the testatrix, who is born from the same mother.

8. As marriages within the same eanda are prohibited, the eanda appears to be a social institution for the preservance of the cattle possessions within the precincts of the eanda-family and for this reason the eanda becomes one of the bases of Herero law.

9. The members of the eanda can not live together. What is possible for the oruzo has been made impossible for the eanda through the girls marrying husbands who live far-off.

(*b*) The Omuhona-Omurangere=Priest-Chief as nucleus of the Law.

1. The general laws of the Herero are embodied in the person of the chief, who is omuhona=lord, and omurangere =priest at the same time. He is their lord by virtue of the inherited and acquired possessions in cattle and the number of his subjects. The more cattle and vassals he has, the greater his powers and prestige are. He is omurangere by virtue of his inheritance of everything which is implied by the word oruzo. He conducts the oruzo services at the holy fire. If his eanda legacy is big and his oruzo implies the rule over many subjects, this gives him prominence above other chiefs whose eanda legacies are rather small, in spite of a large train of oruzo followers, or whose oruzo legacy is small but eanda possessions great.

2. The oruzo legacy is not conferred on the eldest son of a deceased chief according to the above-mentioned order without the counsel of the councillors. It might happen that the heir is not virtuous enough to assume and to administer it. Exceptions have indeed occurred, but as a rule the councillors recognise the eldest son of the priest-chief as oruzo heir. While the funeral festivities are going on, the heir prepares himself to assume the office of chief, the ondangere-priestess or her mother having already fetched roots of the omuvapu shrub and placed them in a vessel at the holy fire. The heir then pulverizes a part of these roots, which are sacred to the ancestors. Sitting at the holy fire he takes some of this powder between his fingers, rubs his forehead with it and scatters it in the flame. Then he takes a root in his mouth, chews it fine, takes some consecrated water and rinses his mouth with it and then spits both the water and the root into the fire. The councillors present at the fire do likewise with the water without chewing the root or even taking it into their mouths. This is the first legal act in connection with the assumption of the office of chief. It is manifest that this act has something to do with the ancestors, although they do not know the exact meaning of this symbolical act.

In conjunction with this the second act (no more in connection with the ancestors but with their gifts, the possession of the oruzo cattle) takes place: the new chief must take possession of the oruzo. For this purpose they take a long thong, fasten it to a branch in the cattle-kraal and lead it to the fire. Having reached it, the part of the thong that is too long is rolled up and placed in a little hollow which they cover with the holy milk-pail from which the late father used to drink his sour milk. This being done it serves as documentary evidence that the cattle of the oruzo have henceforth become the possession of the new chief!

A third act is the attachment of a mussel-shell to the hair so that it hangs over his forehead. This is the generally recognised distinctive sign of the Chief. The white shell used for this purpose is not found on the beaches of South-West and being inherited, the Herero himself does not know whence it comes. I could only find out from the Tjimba in the Kaokoveld that it is found on the beaches of Angola. The chief of the Kaoko-Otavi informed me that such a shell is worth a fat ox.

3. Since the death of the old priest-chief there has been no one to consecrate the sour milk for the "werf" by tasting it on behalf of the ancestors; therefore it is profane from the day of his death and may be drunk by anybody. After his assumption of office the first command of the young chief is that all profane milk should be thrown away. All the milk calabashes get new lids and are then filled with fresh milk.

Tjimba-Herero hut.

Tjimba-Herero men.

Tjimba-Herero women and girls.

Tjimba Headman (Otavi) tasting milk.

His first performance as priest-chief now is the consecration of the milk by tasting it after it has become sour; thus showing in a symbolic way that he, as living and visible representative of the ancestral line, takes a patriarchal and also a despotic view of the chieftainship. His first function is that of a father who concerns himself with the nourishment of his children; henceforth he addresses every member of his family with the words "Muatje uandje"=my child. The rights of the chief include the paternal rights.

4. The chief is assisted by his councillors; but it is not laid down by law who may or may not become councillors. It is decided on a basis of relationship and property in addition to personal worthiness; nor may the successor easily omit the councillors of his predecessor. The council meetings, where all things appertaining to tribal life are considered, are held at the holy fire under the chairmanship of the chief. In case he is prevented from attending the meeting he appoints a substitute to conduct the meeting on his behalf. One of the councillors is also the captain of the army, distinguished from the others by the ostrich feather in his headgear.

5. The chief's messengers, who are perhaps sent on errands to another chief, dare not be injured. Their credentials consist of a carved stick marked with notches. In themselves these notches are meaningless, except as signs of recognition and proof that the messenger carrying the chief's stick has been delegated by him.

6. The chief lives on his own property. He receives no revenues or additional income; but receives presents for lawsuits and for the settlement of disputes about inheritance.

7. Anyone who wishes to found his own "werf" in order to rear and attend better to his own cattle receives a brand from the holy fire from the chief by means of which the founder of the new "werf" brings the old blessings of the ancestors into the new settlement and thereby also legally owes allegiance to the chief. In this way it may happen that a chief becomes a sovereign-chief in a certain sense. Samuel Maharero, of Okahandja, was the first to be proclaimed supreme ruler of the whole Herero nation by the German Government. Up to that time there had been no sovereign-chief over them.

8. The last recognised great chieftainships before the Herero Rebellion in 1904 were the following: the Chieftainship of Okahandja, Otjimbingue, Omaruru, Otjozondjupa and Okandjoze.

9. Nominally the chief has the power over life, death and property of his subjects; but seeing that his dignity bears a patriarchal character and that the transfer of one chieftainship to another cannot be prevented (as it only implies the transmission of one oruzo to another by certain ceremonies)

and no chief would like to see his people desert him, for such a desertion of followers weakens his power, his régime is not oppressive as a rule. Consequently the Herero enjoys the greatest imaginable liberty unless he is disturbed or subjugated by external enemies or possesses so little and is so insignificant that his oppression and ill-treatment by some wealthy cattle-owner, is not disadvantageous to the latter.

10. In times of peace it is hardly possible to say what a chief is and what powers are vested in him. He lives in the same way as others of the tribe do. He dresses himself like the others; and yet he is treated with greater respect and his person remains zera=holy. But everyone looks after himself as well as he can and is not very much disturbed by what the chief does or contemplates doing. But the tables are suddenly turned when hostilities arise, as has been amply exemplified by the wars in the past.

(*c*) The Ramification of the Law.

1. The priest-chief is the embodiment of law, its strong supporter and bearer. Through him every individual member of the nation is entitled to the general rights of the whole. The whole nation, but especially the oruzo, is to be regarded as a large family. The chief stands at the head of this family as a living Mukuru=God, and represents the supposed living ancestors of the Ovakuru=Gods, but particularly the tribal progenitor and Mukuru, the first ancestor of the whole nation who has proceeded from the Omumborombonga-tree. The chief knows and proclaims the laws of the ancestors. All "children" have to act in accordance with these laws, not so much for fear of the chief but for fear of the wrath of the ancestors who punish relentlessly. Consequently, after the presentation of the laws of the chief, steps must be taken to discuss them, for they constitute the laws of the ancestors relating to the organisation of the communal life of the "children."

2. A Herero child is not regarded as a genuine Herero until by admission to the national group at the holy fire by a special ceremony, when the name of the child is announced, as has already been mentioned. This act must be ratified as soon as the boy or girl reaches the age of puberty. Both get the tooth-mark as a national characteristic and the boy has to be circumcised, if possible, before he has grown to manhood. (*Vide* circumcision.)

Only a Herero who bears the tooth-mark and has been circumcised is a genuine son of the fathers and stands under their blessed influences and is entitled to everything that is done for the well-being of his oruzo at the holy fire.

3. The child belongs to the father who has reared it without the eanda forfeiting its rights. This becomes clear

when a marriage is broken. In such a case the children stay with the father and the mother has to go; sucklings, however, stay with the mother till they have been weaned. But when a child dies the eanda sends in a claim and the father has to satisfy it by paying a cow.

4. Illegitimate children belong, of course, to the girl and the father may only claim the children on payment of a cow for each child. When the illegitimate father marries the mother of such a child, it becomes his without any payment. When the parents die the eldest brother of the mother acts as a kind of guardian. If there be no such brother, or if he does not care for the child, it may be adopted by other people. It is then regarded as the legitimate child of the adoptive father, although according to popular opinion full equality with the own children of the adopting parents is not attained. The Herero law, however, regards them as equal in all respects. It is even possible to adopt children of other nationalities; but they must be circumcised and tooth-marked. Children from a European father and a Herero mother are regarded as Ovikonde=cast away,—refuse.

5. After the setting in of menstruation the girl is marriageable. There is no definitely fixed time for a boy. Early marriages are not uncommon to girls; but men very seldom get married before the age of 25 to 30 years.

6. Pre-matrimonial sexual intercourse is not prohibited for either girls or boys. In earlier times it was a decided disgrace for a girl to indulge in sexual intercourse. But when syphilitic contagion results from illegitimate intercourse the man has to pay the girl's father an indemnity in accordance with their agreement up to the value of the "morning gift."

7. There are certain obstacles to a girl's marriage in so far as the rules of the eanda do not allow her to marry a man from another, not marriageable, eanda. There are only certain omaanda which may intermarry. In addition to this there is one more obstacle in the case of a widow, namely, she may not marry before the mourning year has elapsed.

8. The married young woman goes over in the oruzo of her husband and remains in it till her husband dies. She is regarded as the property of her husband. His rights over her reach so far that he can even lend her out to other men, which is not a rare phenomenon in the institution of the oupanga=men-friendships. This is made up of men of the same oruzo who form an alliance of mutual help in cases of emergency. But often this alliance is only entered upon with the object of having undisturbed intercourse with the friend's wife. The consent of the wife is taken for granted. These same friendships not seldom develop into bitter enmity.

9. Originally the Herero were polygamists, but under the influence of Christianity and western civilisation monogamy

has taken root. After the revival of the national sentiment, however, they began to exhibit a strong tendency towards polygamy again. The man may take as many wives as he chooses; the number is in no way restricted by law. The law only states that the eldest son of the first wife, the chief wife, is the heir to the oruzo and that the chief wife and her daughter are to look after the holy fire. A Herero who has several wives very seldom keeps them in the same "werf" but keeps them at different places or cattle-posts.

10. The wife or even the concubine is the owner of the house she has built and in which she stays, for according to Herero law the man has no house. He passes the nights in the huts of the different wives in definite rotation.

11. A divorce may only be decided upon by the priest-chief. Grounds for a divorce are the following: wilful abandonment, continual perfidy on the part of the woman—not of the man!—sterility, ill-treatment by the husband, attempts of the woman to poison her husband, etc. The one who lodges the complaint and asks for a divorce must deliver a wether to cover the expenses of the court, before the case is taken in hand. If the wife is found guilty, her father has to replace all the presents given by the husband as well as the "morning gift." In the meantime the woman's property remains her possession. The children fall to the father's share. The husband, even though guilty, is not obliged to see to the sustenance of the woman after the divorce has been granted. She goes back to her relatives and lives on her own property or on them. The children are always adjudicated to the father; but in spite of this, if a child dies, the father has to indemnify the parents of the divorced wife or their heirs, as the child is at the same time the property of the maternal eanda. The indemnity consists of a cow.

12. When the husband dies the brother of the deceased may, inasmuch as he becomes the heir, take the wives to him in a morganatic marriage. He is in no way compelled to do it, but only entitled to it. If he rejects the morganatic marriage, he bears no responsibilities except that he has to lose the possessions of the widow. Such women thus belong to the oruzo inheritance. In no case, however, do they fall to the share of the testator's son, when he is the heir, but to the brother if he declares himself willing to take them over.

13. The Stranger, whether he be a Herero, or belongs to another nation, has not been left out of consideration in Herero law. If he comes in the proximity of a "werf" he has to stay there until the priest-chief has asked him whither and whence he was going and brought him to the Okuruno where the holy fire burns. There he is given a sheep or a goat. It is against all custom to consume your own stock as long as you are the guest to the chief; and it is the latter's duty to taste the meat of the slaughtered sheep before

the stranger eats of it. If he stays longer this present is repeated. The stranger for whom a hut is made ready to stay in is under the protection of the chief.

14. The Herero have never possessed slaves in the proper sense of the word. But they regard the wandering Bergdama and Bushmen as subject to them when they can bring them under their sway, and make them their herdsmen. Sometimes they treat them well but often very cruelly; it depends greatly on the attitude of the servant, who cannot become free again unless he flees, neither can his children be emancipated, nor may he be sold to any other of the members of the tribe. The possibility exists that he be taken up as a member of the nation provided that he has secured his master's goodwill; but then he has to be circumcised and tooth-marked. The daughter of such a "slave" then has a chance of being married by a Herero whereby she is admitted to his oruzo and eanda. Their children are then regarded as being born the equals of other children.

Herero law does not only organise the relation between individual and individual but also the possessions of a person in living and dead stock.

15. In respect of land and ground communism holds full sway among the Herero. Land and ground are tribal property and not the property of a chief and still less that of an individual. Every one grazes his cattle where there is grass and waters his cattle where he can find water. The separate chieftainships have indeed got their capitals where the holy fire burns in proximity to the ancestral graves, and have come to terms with regards to definite pasture-lands but there are no boundary marks to demark such districts, and there is no law whatsoever to prevent the nomad from grazing his cattle wherever it pleases him.

16. Disposal of land or ground for payment or as a gift is unknown to the Herero, for as the tribal territory is tribal property no chief may dispose of it; less still another individual. Presentations of building sites or large landed estates occurred in olden times, but the missionaries or settlers were obliged to return such grounds to the tribe again as soon as they migrated or left the country. Nobody had the right to sell such a site, garden, etc., to anyone.

17. Within the tribal precincts every hunter has full hunting rights, and the game belongs to the one who hit it first with his arrow, "kierie" or bullet; those who may eventually have killed it are rewarded with a present consisting of a piece of the meat. In the case of battues or hunting parties in which several hunters participate the right to the first shot is decided in a very orderly way; and the rotation is decided by mutual agreement.

18. Although immovable property, land and ground, is the private property of no individual but belongs to the whole

tribe, the movable possessions, to which the house also belongs, are always in definite hands. The general rule is that an article is the private property of a person when he has made it himself. The services of helpers in the manufacture do not entitle them to the article as they have done it either for a favour, by order or for remuneration. Valuable implements are marked. These marks are differentiated by the manufacturer for every single article. A wooden pail is marked with a little notch cut out in it or is branded. A self-dug well is covered with thorny twigs. Cattle and sheep are usually ear-marked, a little indent being made in the ears.

19. Movable property may be hired and is usually granted without any compensation or limitation. When it concerns the loan of a tool with which the borrower wants to earn something, he has to give the owner a part of his earnings in accordance with their agreement. In case such a tool is lost or has become unserviceable, the borrower is liable to pay compensation. Very often cows are lent. In this way poorer relatives are assisted in making a living. The cow and the calves remain the lender's property.

20. Even the new-born child is entitled to property. When the child is christened at the holy fire the grandfather on the mother's side usually has a heifer brought along. The forehead of the child is brought in contact with that of the calf, and by this ceremony it has become the owner of the heifer in the eyes of the ancestors. The progeny of the cow belongs then to the child. After the return of the mother with the child to the father's "werf" he repeats the gift. Relatives and acquaintances present it with a sheep or a goat and so the child gets a constantly increasing herd which remains its property and is looked after by the father.

21. Gifts are the order of the day. It, however, is etiquette to give a present in return, which shall not be less in value than the one received. It is considered polite to ask for a gift, as the entreating person appears as a pauper who regards the other as a wealthy man. When presents are given to the sick or "coevals" no present is expected in return. Those who have been circumcised at the same time and thus form an intimately connected alliance of friends, bound to assist one another, are called "coevals."

22. In spite of the fact that the right of succession is definitely fixed, it sometimes happens that the testator expresses a last will before witnesses, men and women. This is usually a wish or a will that a favourite should be well provided for at the division of inheritance or that a person who is in ill favour should be disinherited or considered less favourably. The threat, that after his death the testator will ascertain whether his will has been complied with and that the transgressor will be punished if it is not the case, is usually added. It is not the law that gives authority to the pro-

visions of his last will but the fear of the punishments of the testator, who may send illness, misfortune and death to the transgressors.

23. Just as each Herero belongs to a certain oruzo and a certain eanda, the inheritance is either an oruzo-inheritance comprising: holy oxen, holy vessels, ancestral staffs, priestly rights at the holy fire, etc., or an eanda-inheritance comprising the herds and the milk calabashes and pails belonging to them. The oruzo-inheritance goes to the oruzo and the eanda-inheritance falls to the share of the eanda of the testator.

As has already been explained, the oruzo-inheritance either falls to the share of the eldest son or, in case there is no such eldest son, it is disposed of in accordance with the prescriptions of the law of inheritance. This is done according to the paternal rights.

According to maternal rights the eanda part of the inheritance is inherited by those brothers who are from the same mother as the testator. If there are none, the mother's brother or the eldest son of the sister of the mother is entitled to it.

The right of inheritance must not be understood as implying that only two heirs are considered. The two persons who are the lawful heirs are compelled by custom to present their relatives with things they have inherited. As every one strives after retaining as much as possible, the administrator of a large estate has no easy task.

24. The oruzo and eanda heirs usually nominate a trustworthy person as administrator of the estate. In case they cannot find such a person or when they cannot agree on one person or when the division is not conformable to their wishes, the tribal chief is asked to be executor and he usually has himself very well remunerated for his trouble. In the theoretic interpretation of the Herero law of inheritance, the right of succession seems very simple and plain; but in practice the entail of the eanda-heritage involves great difficulties and one has to be a Herero to be able to comprehend with some degree of certainty in complicated cases, what hereditary right bestows on an individual and what not. Even those who know a good deal about it, sometimes only settle a dispute about an inheritance by a despotic threat or command. As this may only be done by the chief and his councillors, it is clear how the settlement of disputes about heritages has come into the hands of the chief more and more.

(*d*) The Administration of Justice.

1. The powers of administering and maintaining justice are vested in the priest-chief, who has three to six specially eminent men to support him in the administration of justice. The young chief reappoints those who have already served

in the capacity of judges under his predecessor and nominates some fresh ones in addition to them; but he may also, especially when travelling, pass a legally valid judgment independent of them.

2. The following offences are usually referred to him for judgment: murder, adultery, assault, insult, cattle-theft.

Cases where a hungry person has slaughtered and eaten an animal belonging to another are never included under cattle-theft. Such a deed is not punishable as it was regarded as "theft of food." The driving away of cattle in order to enrich oneself is, however, punishable. Nor if one takes serviceable things in order to use them himself is it considered as theft, yet the owner has the right of taking back that which has been "taken" when he finds it, but he cannot take legal action against the thief. "A Herero does not steal, he merely takes!"

3. A case is heard in the following manner: The plaintiff goes to the chief and lodges his complaint with him. He has to bring a wether or an ox—according to the importance of the controversial matter—to serve as food for the judges as long as they sit. The chief intimates this to his councillors and summons the accused to appear by means of his sons or the sons of his councillors; if he should offer resistance his case is considerably prejudiced. During the trial the chief sits on a pile of cattle horns or on a wooden chair and the assessors take their seats on horns next to him. The court is held near the holy fire.

An open court is held, but women are not admitted unless they also are implicated in the case. The plaintiff appears first and has to lodge the complaint in full detail. This being done, he has to absent himself. Now the accused gets his turn to respond and to lay before them his case in every detail. When this is finished he has also to withdraw.

If there are any witnesses for the parties, their evidence is taken. After this the plaintiff and accused have the right to be confronted with each other, and the assessors may now investigate the matter by asking questions. In many cases an attempt is made to bring about a reconciliation at this stage. If it should not succeed they begin to decide the sentence. Often this is not found at once or pronounced at that moment. Days may lapse as the sentence must be agreed upon unanimously.

If the chief cannot conduct the session of the court he appoints a substitute as chairman. He must, however, be informed of the sentence before it is executed. He has the right to amend or lay aside such a sentence and to impose his own judgment—if he is sufficiently powerful to do so.

4. When the evidence of witnesses is heard many oaths are taken. For all that an oath is in no way binding. They swear by the ancestral grave, the missionary, the church, the

bones of the father, the headgear or the tears of the mother, heaven, the colour of the oruzo oxen and many more things. Perjury is not punished, although one committing perjury provokes the wrath of the ancestors by whom he has sworn.

The accused are very seldom tortured; but such tortures do occur when the accused is a Bergdama or Bushman. It may take the form of flogging, all sorts of bodily inflictions, or burning certain parts of the body with a glowing brand.

5. The favourite punishments are: flogging, binding the culprit to the trunk of a tree or the wheel of an ox-wagon, payment in cattle of which one-third falls to the share of the chief, replacement of the misappropriation up to five times the value of such a misappropriation, castration of a man, burning of finger-tips and lips, and ultimately death, with which a murderer, a confirmed thief or attempted murder of the chief is punished.

Confiscation of all property and banishment occur, however, very seldom.

6. If a punishment in property is decided upon the culprit usually gets time to pay such a fine. If corporal punishment is the sentence it is inflicted immediately after its pronouncement. Death sentence is also executed shortly after it has been passed. If the person concerned has escaped by fleeing he is looked for. In the first instance the sons of the chief and the councillors function as police and executors of the sentence; but the chief may also impose that duty on others.

The death sentence is executed by leading the delinquent into a wood and hitting him to death with one blow of the club on the hind part of the head, or by stabbing him with a spear, shooting him with a rifle, or in any other way. The way in which he is killed does not matter so much, as long as he is killed. In the case of wizards burning to death has also often been resorted to. Even if the death sentence has been pronounced the chief still has the right of granting pardon.

7. The culprit has the right of appeal to a greater chief than the one by whom he has been tried. After the German Government had proclaimed Samuel Maharero as supreme chief over the Herero, it often happened that he was appealed to as supreme judge.

8. In addition to the legal procedure there is of course still an illegal process of taking revenge. As vengeance in respect of injustice which has either not been atoned for in a constituted court, or which could not be righted before a constituted court or which could not be referred to the chief's court, they resort to curses, poison, and even suicide.

The curse is dreaded as it is supported by the ancestors and other mysterious powers, and the curse works like a magic spell. When corporal punishment or injury is added to the curse, the cursed believes it to be the effect of the curse if, even decades after, he should meet with misfortune or illness.

In case of secret revenge it has to be decided whether the poisoning is caused by a wizard, who receives payment for it, or by the application of superstitious means which have the same effect as poison.

When revenge is to be taken on a relative the wizard is unnecessary. They mix menstrual blood or other effective things with the food of the one who is to be poisoned, carry a piece of clothing, some dust from his foot print, hair or finger-nails which have been cut off to a known grave and pray to the dead " to keep the one they have brought," etc. This form of witch-craft, however, is not effective in the case of people who do not belong to the family. Against such people they use the magic of wizards.

Suicide may also be an act of revenge. The person who commits suicide is actuated by the thought that the dead are capable of bringing about evil and death more effectively than the living. According to old custom suicide is committed by strangulation in this way: a thong is tied round the neck, and the suicide fastens himself close to the central pillar of the house with it and lying on the ground twists himself round energetically until the windpipe is frayed through. Another manner is this: the tongue is pressed into the pharynx with a forcible squeeze of the thumb so that the ligament of the tongue is torn off and the windpipe closed up. After they had become acquainted with rifles suicide was committed by means of a bullet.

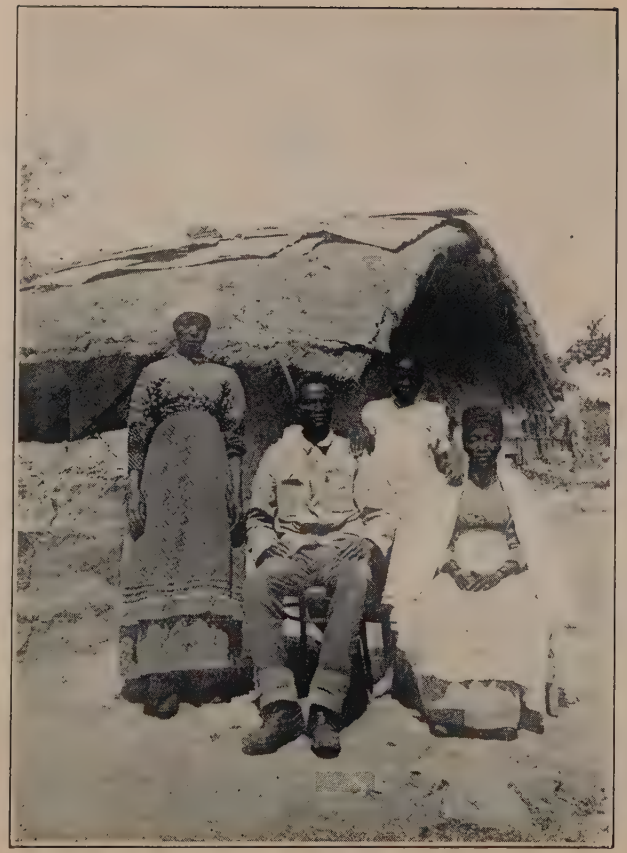
9. Vendetta takes a very important place beside private revenge. The relations of the slain person have the right of instituting proceedings against the murderer or manslaughterer, but the chief does not interfere on his own accord, as the avenging of the blood of a relative is legally recognised. Even though the chief's court may have punished the perpetrator by levying a fine, the plaintiff may not be satisfied and then after the execution of the punishment the vendetta may continue unpunished. Only after the plaintiff has assented to the fine as an indemnification for the loss of a human life either as a result of a legal process, or a personal agreement between him and the perpetrator, does the right of vendetta expire. But lapse of time in the meantime does not render the force of this right invalid.

But blood-vengeance may not be wreaked within the own oruzo circle. It may only be applied to members of foreign tribes or members of the own eanda. When a woman has lost her life the duty to wreak vengeance consequently lies with the nearest relatives from the mother's side, *i.e.*, the uncles of the mother, or her sons, or in the first instance, the brothers born from the same mother.

When a man has been killed his brothers and his mother's brothers are entitled to avenge his blood. The vendetta right never becomes obsolete for although the will to it may die

Shelter at waterhole in which Tjimba-Herero hunters conceal themselves from game coming to drink.

Hut in which Tjimba Hereroes conceal themselves while hunting.



Herero family.

Herero women servants, carrying water.

away, a sudden revival after many years is always possible and they are entitled to indulge it.

Instead of taking blood-vengeance they may choose to plunder the town of the perpetrator—when the revengers are strong enough for such an enterprise.

It is of course primarily undertaken against the person and possessions of the murderer or man-slaughterer, but when vengeance cannot reach him, no legal steps can be taken against its perpetration on members of his tribe or family.

V. MODERN TIMES AND CIVILISATION.

Thus far the Hereros of the olden times, which ended at about 1870, have been described. Some decades prior there were traders in the country who certainly did not come with the object of spreading civilisation, but whenever a more highly cultured man comes in contact with people of less culture, he unconsciously and involuntarily exercises a cultural influence. Fire-arms belong to the first civilised achievements of the Herero.

Since 1844 Rhenish missionaries have been at work among the Hereros. They came with the definite object of introducing Christianity and civilisation into Hereroland and a very hard task they had. They worked practically in vain for fifteen years until ultimately a small group of Christians came into existence. The missionary, Rev. Dr. Hahn, then imported a number of German settlers as leaders of the mission work, so that the Hereros could see what a Christian community meant. They were to teach them all sorts of ordinary work and manual labour. This settlement was founded in Otjimbingue, and a wagon-builder, cartwright, gunsmith, smith, farmer, etc., all gave themselves a deal of trouble. The farmer taught them to grow corn and vegetables in the river-beds and the traces of these works are still extant to-day in Otjimbingue, Omaruru and other places, for gardening was the only activity of which the Hereros saw the immediate good. As they usually had enough food and had few other wants the teachers of manual labour did not find any pupils at all. The colonists then severed their connection with missionary work; but stayed among the Hereros and made a living each in his own way. The mission in South-West has its greatest supporters in the descendants from these colonists to this day.

In the course of years, missionary stations being founded all over the country, *e.g.*, Otjikango 1845, Otjimbingue 1849, Okahandja 1850, Omaruru 1870, Otjosazu 1872, Otjizeva 1873, Omburo 1876, Otjihaenena 1892, Okazeva among the Ovambanderu 1899, etc., the Herero nation slowly and steadily began to adopt those aspects of western civilisation which could be adapted to them. The Christians accommo-

dated themselves to the wearing of clothes, the men getting trousers, jackets, hats and shoes from the pedlars, the women making their clothes after the fashion of those worn by the wives of the missionaries; and up to this day well-dressed Herero women do not follow the vagaries of fashion in women's clothing. They stick to the blue print dresses which had been introduced by the mission ladies and the pattern taught to their mothers and grandmothers in the sewing classes. This manifests their exceptional tendency to conservatism.

Further, they began to build houses of clay bricks which were dried in the sun, the chiefs setting the example and finding many imitators.

After the occupation and especially after the Herero war of 1904-'07 the old way of building houses ceased. They preferred to erect huts of tins they picked up. That is the reason why whole towns of tin houses are seen in Windhoek and other places to-day. The supporting pillar is secured in some way somewhere and " taken with them." As these huts are made of small pieces of tin nailed together, of petrol tins, cement barrels, etc., which have been beaten out, they are very draughty and too hot in the hot months and too cold in the cold season. Next to them huts of the old style are still to be seen. The old Herero house has kept its popularity especially in the reserves and on farms.

Passing through the country hurriedly one receives the impression that the Herero has given up his old civilisation as far as his clothing and house are concerned and adopted western civilisation to the extent his meagre means allow.

In a four-cornered tin house—the tin is often substituted by sacking, etc.—quite a modern equipment is found: Pots, dishes, spoons, drinking mugs, plates, lamps, here and there plain tables, chairs, windows and window curtains, up to a sewing machine and a harmonium, reminding us of the fact that the ancient times are past.

But a true picture of the state of civilisation among the Hereros can only be given when the following questions are answered in full: What of its ancient culture has the Herero nation retained intact? What has it retained while making these changes? What has it adopted as new and better than the old traditions which it has given up? What has it lost without receiving an equivalent? What has it gained by the new whether it be good or bad, without sacrificing something for it? The answers to these questions alone can give us an understanding of the Hereros of the present.

In order to answer these questions conscientiously and in order to avoid drawing a caricature, it is necessary to give a review of the three spheres of religion, habits and customs and their ideas of law.

(*a*) Their Attitude Towards Religion.

The Christian religion had much difficulty in finding its way for the tribes opposed it solidly. A Herero who turned a Christian forfeited his membership of the oruzo. As a reply to the question: "Are you a Christian?" the missionary received the words: "No, I am a Herero." A Christian was no longer regarded as a Herero. He indeed never had the national distinctive sign of circumcision and the tooth-mark, nor even access to the holy fire which brings him in contact with the ancestors. Severed from the worship of the ancestors, the Herero is no more a Herero!

2. In spite of this one chief after the other turned Christian. The communities grew larger and many were earnest about their Christianity. Here and there, however, the holy fire still burned and they still had holy cattle herds; but the war of 1904 extinguished all the holy fires. When they ultimately concluded peace there was no Herero who possessed any cattle and the cattle-rearer became a labourer. The ancestors could not be worshipped any more for the unity of the nation was shattered. Now the Christian community offered both a new religion and a union of the nation in the community with their leaders and Herero elders. So it happened that after the war every Herero was determined to become a Christian. Those who did not act upon their resolution at once, at least had the intention and the communities grew at a rapid pace and flourished for their willingness to make sacrifices caused them to rise almost to financial independence. Herero teachers taught the children of that nation and were provided for by the communities and Herero evangelists went from farm to farm to make it easier and more possible for the remote Hereros to become members of the mother community. They were also supported by the communities. Thus the Hereros lost their ancestral worship except only in its sanctuaries in the Kaokoveld and other remote places. They lost the ancestral staffs, the holy fire, all holy objects, the belief in helping and punishing ancestors. These were replaced by membership of the Christian communities, education of their children in schools, access to the arts of reading and writing and to religious and simple secular literature, and opportunity for the capable among them to become an elder by virtue of his influence within the national community, or a teacher or evangelist.

3. The termination of the war in South West in 1915 restored to the Hereros the right of becoming unlimited cattle-rearers. Sufficient pasture-lands were promised them to an extent which no Government could fulfil. But great reserves were founded, but as has already been depicted, a crisis now set in. Agitators from the Cape and America preached impiety and discord. The Hereros enriched themselves in

cattle in a short time, and the reserves were filled with cattle. Those who were still working at fixed places, got hold of cattle by any means and put them in charge of relations. Farmers who wanted to keep their Herero labourers had to grant them grazing rights for their herds on the farm either gratis or for a fee.

The Herero to whom impiety was preached, and who was enabled to return to the worship of ancestors by the possession of cattle, deliberated on the religion of his ancestors. As this religion put the owner of cattle in a position of becoming a chief at the holy fire, numerous little chiefs, who re-kindled the holy fire, came into being.

As a Christian cannot be a Herero, most men had themselves circumcised. The adept at circumcision then went from place to place, from farm to farm, in order to circumcise both young and old and the tooth-mark was introduced again. The lot casters and wizards again drew great congregations as in earlier days. The stereotyped information of the source of evil was, " All evil is due to the fact that you have had dealings with the whites." The stereotyped advice as to how to avert the evil was, " Re-kindle the holy fire. Bring offerings to the ancestors as in by-gone days. They are angry with you because you have deserted them. If you worship them they will help you to rid the country of the whites." All do not follow this advice. There are many men and women who take no part or pleasure in the present day hatred and discontent. They, however, do not venture forth because the terrorism of the heathen party does not allow them the freedom of speech and action. Rationally speaking the Herero ought to have been very thankful to the Government for the permission to keep unlimited head of cattle, as the indulgence in the old customs and of their old religion is only due to that.

But their religion has its secret connections with their moral attitude. Emancipated from the community discipline the proud Herero wants to obey nobody. He wants to be free, free as his fathers. Nobody should poke his nose into his affairs.

He considers it unjust that he has to pay a fee for pasture rights or that he should pay tax to the Government. He deems it an injustice that he may not do or leave what pleases him and that the magistrate worries about him. The drinker who may not buy spirituous liquors from the shop of the merchant regards it as his due right to brew as much beer for himself as he feels inclined to have and to ruin mind and body with it. Marriage contracted before a government official is too binding on him, and it is exceptional for him to enter into the matrimonial state. Sensual love is shamelessly preached and shamelessly indulged in. Where people still marry, such marriages are often childless. The

" liberty " given to him, is regarded by him as meaning freedom of indulging fearlessly in a life prompted by his instinctive desires. The old moral code of the ancestors is forgotten and they do not want to be reminded of them. The regulating hand of the priest-chief, who protected their rights and morals to a certain extent, is also lacking. This is the religious and moral state of affairs among the Herero of the modern times.

(*b*) Attitude towards Habits and Customs.

The present mode of living of the Hereros has preserved old forms to the extent that it is possible to imitate the lives of the ancestors again, but one cannot fail to see as well that his adaptation to foreign means of enjoyment has developed to such an extent that even in the more remote places he does not deny himself them. At places where he cannot be a cattle-rearer, but has to be a labourer, he tries hard to copy the white man in his dress and demeanour, and of all the native races of South West he is the most successful in appearing dignified and well-clad, and evidently thinks not a little of himself. As labourer he is in many cases preferred to the Bergdama and Hottentot as well as the much more willing and modest native of Amboland, and the farmer need wish for no better herdsman for his stock of cattle.

The Christian Hereros still have their children christened as before, but the heathens try to uphold the ancestral customs at the holy fire. This also applies to marriage and weddings. Marrying before a government official as well as in the church, according to present Herero views, is too binding. It has been made too difficult to be divorced. What the missionaries have wished for years, namely official registration of marriages during the German time, or even legal civil marriage, which was introduced by the Mandate Government, brought about the contrary to their expectations. They believed that thereby the bonds of marriage would be laid more securely; it resulted in the reduction of lawful marriages to a minimum; wedding according to ancestral custom is only effected where there is no recognised chief. It is thus regarded as sufficient to send the " morning gift," which may now also be in money, when one wants to get married. On the average the price of a wife amounts to £15. This money is then appropriated for the purpose of the wedding ceremonies by the bride's father.

Unfortunately it happens quite often that women who have been married lawfully in older times, are kept by their relatives when they pay a visit, under the pretension that the " morning gift " was not fully paid and that their husbands could not have them back unless they have made an additional payment. In many cases this is due not to a right but to

gross selfishness. An institution to regulate such disorderly marital relations and to punish the culprits does not exist. Very many marriages which were not unhappy have been broken in this way by the relatives of the wife, *i.e.*, the eanda; and for this reason young men are afraid of getting married. Thus this nation, which would like to be big and strong and prolific, is busy bringing about its own extinction, which is inevitable unless their marital relations are put on a sound basis.

5. For the rest the old customs with regard to match-making are still extant, and the stipulations of the eanda laws are generally adhered to. The young man's father looks for and decides upon a bride, he negotiates with the people concerned regarding the price of the bride. In the case of marriages in the church a bride's veil has displaced the netting of fat from the slaughtered animal, killed by the bride's father at the holy fire. The veil may under no circumstances be raised. The final " yes " at the altar must be said indistinctly and softly, so that the parents can have no grounds for suspicion that the daughter is pleased to leave her home, as would be the case if she uttered it joyfully and loudly. Nobody is invited to the marriage repast consisting of meat, coffee and sugar and eventually sugar-beer, but as in the days of old, everyone who wants to partake of it is welcome. Both the bride and the bridegroom appear in the best and often quite expensive clothes, and at such occasions one indeed sees how easily this nation could be civilised if erroneous ideas had not corrupted them.

6. In cases of illness the wizard is resorted to, and long journeys are undertaken to get hold of him. Of late he sees to it that he is well paid for his trouble. He is mostly consulted by sufferers from venereal diseases and by childless women. Many who have discovered the frauds indulged in by the wizards go to a European doctor. At places where there is no doctor the missionaries of all denominations see to it that the sick are attended to. The Government also attends to the sick in the hospitals but unfortunately there is considerable repugnance against hospitals. In connection with this they have an ineradicable old superstitious belief that a deceased person could take away a living person; and formerly they never went into a house where someone had died but left it to tumble down and removed to a new abode a little distance away. It is inevitable that more people die in a hospital than in a private residence. Hence for the superstitious the hospital is a place which knows death very well. He who goes to a hospital runs the danger of being taken by the spirit of one who has previously died there.

7. The heathen mourning ceremonies consist chiefly of bewailing the dead, by breaking out in monotonous lamentations. At present, however, both heathens and Christians no more

bury their dead in the old way. Each town has its graveyard for natives where heathens as well as Christians are buried. But it still often happens that one who is in distress steals to a grave in the dead of night to pray. Offerings are now very seldom laid on the graves. Still less are sepulchral tokens erected on or near to graves by means of the horns of slaughtered holy oxen.

(*c*) Relation to Old and New Ideas of Law.

Since 1915 white and coloured are equal before the law. All have equal rights and this is fully appreciated. Even Hereros sue one another before the Magistrate's court if they have not got confidence that their own arbitrators will administer full justice to them. Sometimes a complaint is lodged in order to expose a fellow-tribesman as far as possible and the hope is cherished that the punishment inflicted by the magistrate will be more severe than that by the arbitrators of their own nation. There are still sons of old chiefs and of councillors who can be referred to for a decision, and cases are still brought before them.

9. Every individual, whether Christian or heathen, still knows to which oruzo he belongs. It is true that the oruzo-inheritance is no more extant, that there are no sacred vessels now and sacrificial oxen (except in the case of the Tjimba in the Kaokoveld), and that the old priest-chiefs are dead. The only one who had the legal power of re-kindling the holy fire is the son of Samuel Maharero, who stays in Bechuanaland, is a Christian and determinedly refused to accede to the wishes of the heathen party, when he visited Hereroland. Therefore they help themselves as well as they can, kindle the holy fire by twirling, act according to old customs with new, unholy vessels, let the fire go out, and follow the advice of the wizard or the lot-caster. The holy fire is the place of refuge for the old Herero rights no longer, except in the Kaokoveld. It has become a buried superstition.

10. Every Herero knows to which eanda he belongs. The choice of a bride and the wedding still take place in accordance with the rules of the eanda, and estates are administered according to the stipulations of the eanda. Modern civilisation has not been able to do away with anything in this respect, and eanda will almost be more powerful than oruzo in the future. The oruzu only administers religious, material and ideal things. In the eanda a great estate is sometimes concerned. It is a good thing that the eanda rules are complied with, for a foreign system of hereditary right would not have such far-reaching social effects on the Hereros under their characteristic conditions. One who has any knowledge of the Hereros must pass a different judgment on the oruzo! It is directly opposed to good management. It does not only

keep the Herero nation as a whole from becoming a working nation of South West, but adopts a separatist attitude. No, the oruzo educates its group in that direction—that all property should be regarded as an ancestral blessing. This blessing implies in the first instance the acquisition of cattle and possessions, nor may such a blessing be disposed of. This consequently results in their having tremendously large herds, for which all reserves will become too small in the course of time, and it is not an easy task to induce a Herero to restrict such herds to an economical limit by selling the surplus. In this connection the Government will have many difficulties, for the Herero regards his possessions in cattle as the best way of pleasing his ancestors. He does not understand that by selling cattle he can acquire money which can be deposited profitably in a bank. His relations, he fears, may in some way or another seize hold of his money. The cows lent to relatives remain the property of the lender in spite of the fact that the users derive their means of subsistence from them. The imposition of a high tax on all cattle exceeding a certain number would cause many difficulties. It might become a means of limiting the numbers of the herds, but under the prevalent system of lending out cattle it is practically impossible even to estimate the possessions of a herd-owner.

When the missions of which there is a great number in South West have displaced the heathen and untenable ideas and teachings of the oruzu by more Christian ideas, and when the Herero has understood that by selling the surplus cattle he can save up money, which public and private institutions will keep in safety at a certain rate of interest, he could become a very useful and reliable cattle-rearer, an important factor in the farming industry of South West—and what is more a great competitor of the farmer.

11. As far as the possession of land is concerned it may be said that since the Herero war 1904-'07, the nation owns no tribal territory. The reserves were free assignments on the part of the German and Mandate Governments, and private acquisition of land is not possible; but the right of movable property has been left untouched, likewise the right of succession.

12. Revenge for murder is scarcely ever practised. They have silently accustomed themselves to confining the punishment for offences to the properly constituted law courts.

Has the Herero nation gained or lost by the dawn of civilisation? The Herero, even the well-disposed, will contend that a loss has been suffered; and it cannot be denied that the time of the old, boundless freedom belongs to the past. The oruzo has been totally shattered. The free pasture lands are no more. They have become the property of a foreign colonial power. The tribal organisations are gone and the chieftain-

Hereros at work.

ships have become insignificant. The laws of their fathers had had to make room for new laws in many cases.

But the old form of liberty had its dark side too. To-day they are being forgotten. It cannot be denied that in olden times no Herero could really enjoy his property and life as a marauding enemy continually drove away his herds and decimated the nation. A constituted Government now protects the life and property of the individual as well as of the pauper. Within its Ordinances the greatest liberty is allowed, almost more than is advisable from a pedagogical point of view.

The oruzo has been replaced by the Christian community, with all its social institutions and facilities for mutual help; and the missions, collaborating with the Government, see to the proper education of the youth by Herero teachers.

The Government always makes profuse grants of money for the establishment of new schools and the extension of old ones; salaries of the teachers are being paid solely by the Government. The greatest part of the expenses for the preparation of teachers is borne by the Government, and if only about 300 children of the whole Herero nation avail themselves of these institutions, neither the Government nor the missions can be blamed for it. Every Herero, if dangerously ill, is taken to, and nursed in, the Government or mission hospitals, partly without compensation. Instead of the free pasture rights over the whole territory reserves have been allotted and are accessible to all the old and those incapable of doing work. If the compensation here is not quite equivalent to what has been lost, as much has been granted as was possible under the circumstances. Within the reserves much more is done in the construction of dams and water-boring than a Herero could ever do before, and, of course, the possibilities of the pastures are vastly increased in this manner.

If a Herero were obliged to work he might still prefer to go back to the reserve even though he may choose work that appeals to him and a master with whom he sees a chance of getting on. But seeing that his return to the reserves implies a return to the uncivilised state, the future of the nation suffers thereby. If the Herero is to develop into a useful member of society, he must work; and South West offers him many opportunities.

Nothing has been received in compensation for the chieftainships. There are now no chiefs, only leaders, who are partly appointed by the Government and partly chosen by the nation. But as a result of this the value of the individual has increased quite remarkably. In olden days only the chief, the councillor and the rich man were esteemed. The poor led a wretched life. Even Hereros who still recollect those days do not desire chiefs any more, lest they lose their possessions. Now-a-days every one can work him-

self up, can show what he is capable of, and he is not impeded by his humble descent.

No modern law prohibits him from living, marrying or inheriting according to traditional rights. Where a new law encroaches irksomely on his mode of living it is for the sake of general law and order, for the Hereros have yet to realize that there are other nationalities in South West besides themselves, who have a right to existence.

If the proud Hereros can be successfully brought so far as to become reconciled to the course of historical events without cherishing the ideal of being capable of reversing the wheel of history, they will certainly be called to take one of the foremost positions among the nations of South West. But if they haughtily decline the opportunities offered them for developing and working themselves up and persist in wishing to live an isolated life, according to their own ideas, there are distinct signs that brutalisation, degeneration, childlessness, rapidly increasing sexual diseases, bodily debilitation in consequence of spirituous native drinks, will end in their digging their own national grave.

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